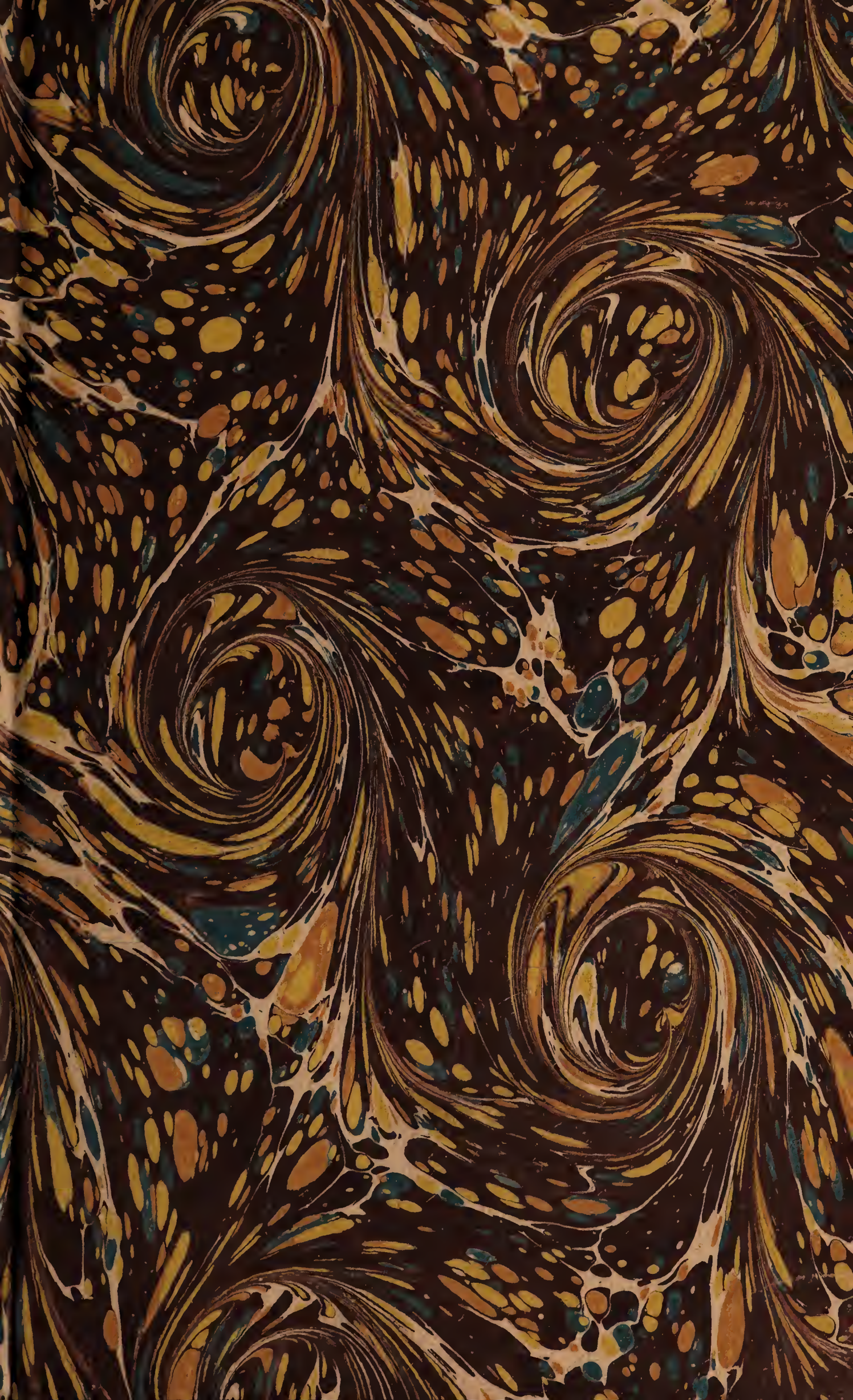

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Distinct Notions

OF THE

PLAGUE,

WITH THE

RISE *and* FALL

OF

Pestilential Contagion.

By the EXPLAINER.

LONDON:

Printed for J. PEELE, at Mr. *Lock*'s Head in *Pater-Noster-Row*. MDCCXXII.

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THE

PREFACE.

Doctor Mead's *short Discourse* explain'd, *is a Book, which has met with great Variety of Fortune in the World; and is, for that Reason, render'd more serious in this* Reply, *than was thought either proper or necessary in the two Editions. The general Change it made in the common Opinions of Men, has been very notable; and did not only raise Authors, that have made good Use of it, but even some that opposed it: All which Considerations have only had this Effect upon me, that I now*

endeavour to set every Thought in a clearer Light than was in any former Edition.

But as I chiefly consult the Satisfaction of my Readers, who have very readily concurr'd with me, in exploding the Notion of the Plague being contagious; so I have early provided against the Doubts and Scruples I found remained with them. Their Difficulties were about the Meaning of Contagion, and flowed altogether from the false Ideas, *all our modern Writers had impressed upon them, by confounding two Words, that bear very different Senses,* Infection *and Contagion. Every Body was sensible of the strong Arguments, that batter'd down Pestilential Contagion: But thinking Infection and Contagion synonomous Words; and that it was generally agreed, that the Plague was infectious, they could not reconcile two very plain, but, in*

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Appearance, two very different Notions. Now as these Words are made very clear in the following Discourse; we will find, what is truly meant by the Infection of the Plague; and, at the same Time, that the Plague is not a contagious Disease.

It is, also, the very just Complaint of some other Readers, that they are not able to form to themselves any positive and distinct Notion of the Plague, from all that has been, hitherto, writ or discoursed by our modern Authors: But that they are still at a Loss, to know what Kind of Disease a Plague may be: I have endeavoured, therefore, to provide against this Sceptical State of the People, as far as I can possibly; while I examine a very barren, but a very artful Discourse. But how should Authors instill distinct Notions of a Disease, which they pro-

fess

ſeſs not to underſtand. However, this we may now underſtand, that the Plague *is a* Fever; *and that it is, conſequently, the* Native *of every* Country, *that it* proceeds *from different and oppoſite* Cauſes: *That it is never* tranſplanted, *neither from foreign Countries, nor from the Perſon of one Man into that of another. More than this cannot be juſtly expected; unleſs I was to examine into the Plague expreſly; but not when I am rather tied down to conſider its Travels, than either the Thing it ſelf, or its Nature.*

As my great Deſign in writing has been to inſtruct others; ſo the better I am able to inform Men in the weighty Matters of the Plague, the more does my Purpoſe and Endeavours ſucceed. And I aſſure every Reader, that I am then beſt pleaſed, when I find my Opinions are well received by their becoming

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the common Converſation; or when I find them in Books. I am therefore much concerned for an ingenious Author, aſſuming to himſelf the firſt Attack on Dr. Mead's *Diſcourſe, when he chiefly fought with my Arms, and* ~~that~~ *that the* Explanation *had two Editions before his Book was publiſhed. The Expectations of a Reward anſwerable to his great Service to the Publick, moved him, no Doubt, to an Action altogether unſuitable to his natural ingenious Temper: But he is young; and he may now begin to learn, that publick Services very rarely find a publick Reward.*

I have made no other Uſe of Dr. Mead's *Defender, but to employ the ſtrongeſt of his Arguments againſt the* Explanation *for further improving the Doctrine it ſets forth; tho' every Body will acknowledge the Weakneſs of the Remarks.*

The PREFACE.

I will only acquaint the Reader, that I have kept back this Reply for some Time, that I might have been enabled to give him an Account of a new Edition of Dr. Mead's *Book. But as this has undergone many Changes in the Press; and it is still uncertain, whether it has acquired an agreeable Form, I did not think fit to make any further Delay; especially that I am persuaded, that a satisfactory Answer will be found in the following Papers.*

Distinct

Distinct Notions

OF THE

PLAGUE, &c.

IN explaining Doctor *Mead*'s Discourse of Pestilential Contagion and his Method of preventing it; I considered it after the Manner we do Boys in a Fencing-School; who push with much Noise, but so feebly, that they seldom push home, and to the Purpose. In the Discourse we find much *Artifice*, But little *Art*: *Contagion* is dropt as soon as it is mention'd: We hear nothing of the Pestilence, which is the chief Question: And we are told it is impossible to *prevent Pestilential Contagion*. Is not this a

reaſonable Foundation of the weighty Superſtructure ?

The *Diſcourſe* ſhould have prov'd very *Short*, had not our Author intended to entertain us with ſome *merry Conceits* and many *Trifles*, with a Purpoſe to carry us off from the principal Subject, in order to recommend to us the neweſt *French* Faſhion of *Armies* and *Lines*; which he hoped we would make our Choice, becauſe they are abominated by the *French*; our Intereſts being commonly oppoſite.

But as *Lines*, and the reſt of our Doctor's *infallible Preſervatives* againſt the Plague, become more terrible than the Diſeaſe it ſelf; ſo my Deſign was to quiet thoſe exceſſive Fears in the People, by ridiculing our Author's Amuſements; ſetting before them the real Danger of the Plague, as Occaſion offered: Not doubting of the *Parliament* giving Relief to the People, when they perceiv'd, that the *Notions* Doctor *Mead* advanced, are as ſtrange to *Phyſicians*, as his *Methods* were contrary to the common Courſe of our Civil *Conſtitution*.

I will then proceed in my former Method, and examine ſeriouſly the Arguments whereby our Author would advance Notions, introducing this *new*, but *cruel*, *French* Practice: And, at the ſame time, I diſ-

diſcover the artful Corruptions of Phyſick I will eſtabliſh the received and true Notions of Phyſicians; and draw out of our Author's barren Accounts, many diſtinct and poſitive Notions relating to the Plague.

As Doctor *Mead*'s great Cordial of the *Plague viſiting us ſeldom*, and many of his *Conceits* and *Contradictions* are already given up by his Defender, who has remark'd on the ſhort Diſcourſe *explained*, I will ſet out with the Doctor at the Beginning of his Book. He tells us, that the reaſonableneſs of his Method of preventing Contagious Diſeaſes may appear, he thinks it *neceſſary to premiſe ſomewhat in general concerning Contagion, and the Manner by which it acts.*

This I think very reaſonable, more eſpecially, that we quickly hear of its ſpreading, or being propagated; and it is therefore neceſſary to know what that is, which is ſpread, or propagated. *Fracaſtorius* not only gives us a Notion of Contagion in the firſt Chapter of his Book, about *Contagious Diſeaſes*; but had likewiſe *premiſed* the Doctrine of *Sympathy* and *Antipathy*; as alſo ſomewhat about *Poiſon*; this laſt our Doctor thinks he has premiſed, and the preceding he brings forth in the middle of his Book, under another Name, but for the ſame purpoſe of the learned *Fracaſtorius*. Now if ſuch Doctrines are not pre-

miſed, we muſt carry on our ſubſequent Inquiries very obſcurely: eſpecially, that the Word *Contagion* has been underſtood of late, by *Engliſh* Authors, in a very different Senſe from what it was formerly by Phyſicians, even by the modern Doctor *Hodges*. And as Dr. *Mead* has made no other mention of *Contagion*, after he declared it ought neceſſarily to be premiſed, I took the Liberty to affirm that *Contagion* was drop'd.

My *Remarker* ſays, * that our Doctor *has not dropt it, but very fully ſhewn the Laws, to which it is ſubject. Had Dr. Mead*, ſays he again, *neglected it, he had neglected the principal Ground, upon which all Cautions to keep out the Plague are founded.* Is not this a wiſe Remark, and an excellent Defence? It is plain, that *Contagion* is dropt, and it is as plain, that the Superſtructure lies already in Rubbiſh; it *Shakes* at leaſt, and will quickly be ruinous, if my *Remarker* does not find ſufficient Props to ſupport it. My *Remarker* talks of *Laws* to which *Contagion* is ſubject, which his Doctor has ſhewn: But theſe Laws ought to have been premiſed, as others do, that proceed in ſuch a Method. Dr. *Mead* then is not only given up by his Defender, but *reprimanded*: The Doctor ſays, it is neceſſary to *premiſe*, his *Defender* tells

* Page 9.

tells us we may hereafter gather together what the Doctor says concerning Contagion, and frame these *Sayings* into *Laws*.

Tho' we are to collect these dispersed *Sayings* concerning Contagion, my *Remarker* is very much provoked with these my Words; for nothing follows, either of *Contagion*, or the Manner of its acting; tho' the Title of the Book promises it, and the first entring upon the *Discourse* declares it to be *necessary*. *This*, says Mr. *Remarker*, *is a gross Falsity*. But why this gross Complement? *Is not*, continues he, *the first Part of* Dr. Mead's *Discourse, chiefly about the Causes that spread the Plague, and consequently of the Contagion that accompanies it?* But as *Contagion* comes in the *Rear* of the Plague, I cannot see the gross Falsity I am under, for not finding it premised, or in the Van of the *Plague*: So that Defender's Complement is out of Time. Besides, Mr. *Defender* mistakes his Author, when he talks of Dr. *Mead*'s Discourse being chiefly about the Causes that spread the Plague, and of Contagion accompanying it: For, according to Dr. *Mead*, *Air*, and his other *Causes*, *propagate* or spread *Contagion*, not the *Plague*; and therefore either Contagion and the Plague are the same; or else the Plague is not considered: If the first, then his Causes propagate the Plague, and the Plague accompanies the Plague; an excellent

cellent Defence. But if the Plague is out of the Play, then *Contagion* accompanies *Nothing*.

This perſpicuous Account ſhews us, how clearly Dr. *Mead* has delivered the *Laws* of Contagion, and how well his Defender underſtands him. Now, if theſe two Friends are ſo very much in the dark, that they do not know one another; we muſt believe, that his Doctrines gave great Light to his Patron, even to be the Foundation of extraordinary *Quarentines*, *Lines*, &c. The true Reaſon of this Confuſion, proceeds from theſe Gentlemen talking in a new Language, and that they did not firſt agree upon any other *Sign*, or *Cypher*. In order, then, to prevent all ſuch *Gibberiſh* for the future, I will re-ſettle the common Meaning of Phyſicians, when they ſpeak of *Contagion*, *&c.* and thereby we ſhall not only know, what Dr. *Mead* and his *Defender* drive at, when they mention *Contagion*, but we ſhall likewiſe be able to re-eſtabliſh the right Senſe of Phyſicians, when either the *Doctor* or his *Defender* corrupt it.

For the better underſtanding the proper Meaning of this word Contagion, I will relate the moſt ancient and common Opinion among Phyſicians about the Manner they conceive Diſeaſes are bred; and next

at

at what time they mention *Contagion* in their Account of Diſeaſes.

Hippocrates calls every * Diſorder in the Body of a Man a *Diſeaſe*.

As alſo, that † Diſeaſes ſeldom have any other Cauſe beſides the *Air*. And therefore when the Air is in a greater or leſs Quantity, or is full of theſe *polluted* Particles that are hurtful to Man's Nature, *Men become Sick*.

This *Pollution* is by the *Greeks* called μίασμα, by the *Latins* Inquinamentum, and by us *Infection*. It is plain, then, that *Hippocrates* and all other Phyſicians believed a *Pollution* or *Infection* to be in every Diſeaſe.

When, on the other hand, Phyſicians ſpeak of Contagion, they ſpeak of this *Infection* paſſing from one thing, or one Perſon, into another; as the learned § *Fracaſtorius*, the firſt Perſon, (I think) that ſuppoſed the Plague to be a Contagious Diſeaſe, expreſſes it.

Contagion, ſays this learned Author, always ſuppoſes two things. One from which the *In-*

* Lib. de Flat. pag. 273. Foeſ.
† Lib. de Affect flat. pag. 275.
§ Lib. 1. cap. 1. pag. 77.

Infection paſſes, and another which receives it. As alſo, that the Infection is the very ſame in both theſe things; becauſe the ſame Diſeaſe comes into the ſound Perſon by *Contagion*, or by the Touch.

So that a Perſon who dies of *Poiſon*, ſays *Fracaſtorius*, may be ſaid to be *Infected*; but by no means, that he has received his Death by *Contagion*.

And therefore Infection always *preceeds* Contagion, and when an infected Perſon *conveys* to another the *Diſeaſe* wherewith *he* is infected, and that by the *Touch*, this ſecond Perſon is ſaid to *catch* the Diſeaſe, or to take it by *Contagion*. This is the Language of *Phyſicians*. Thus ſpoke Dr * *Hodges* our lateſt Author.

There are ſeveral Diſeaſes, that Phyſicians obſerve to be conveyed, or to paſs by Contagion: Some of theſe affect one Part only, others more generally. Theſe are *Leproſy*, *Conſumption*, *Sore Eyes*, the *Itch*, and a very few more: Which Diſeaſes are therefore called *Contagious*. When then we put the *Queſtion* of the *Plague*, or any other Diſeaſe being Contagious; we are bound to determine from Experience, as in the Caſe of other contagious Diſeaſes, what we know in Fact of the *Plague*, being con-

* Λοιμολογ. pag. 59.

convey'd by *Contact*, or by *Contagion*: Which Queſtion is then rather a Queſtion of a *Fact*, than of *Phyſick*. As alſo that the Word *Contagion* ſignifies nothing, as often as we find it by it ſelf, or that, it is carry'd, or conveyed, upon, or in any thing whatſoever.

It behoved then Dr. *Mead* to premiſe ſomewhat concerning *Contagion*, and likewiſe of a Peſtilence, when he undertook to inform us of *Peſtilential Contagion*. And as he has thus failed in his Promiſe, we muſt not wonder that many things occur to us, that have no manner of Meaning in themſelves.

We proceed next with our *Doctor*, who tells us, that *Contagion* is propagated by three *Cauſes*, the *Air*, *Diſeaſed Perſons*, and *Goods tranſported from infected Places*; which we find at preſent do not give us any poſitive or diſtinct Notion, becauſe *Contagion*, a common Quality, is joyned with ſomething elſe.

All this weak reaſoning proceeds altogether from Dr. *Mead* and his Champion not underſtanding what Phyſicians mean by *Infection* and *Contagion*; when they Examine whether *Infection* is propogated and ſpread by the means of *Air*; or that it is propogated from the Body of the *Sick* into that of a *Sound* Perſon; and whether it can be

conveyed in *Goods*, and by them *infect* People in *Health*.

I will proceed in the firſt Article, with Dr. *Mead*, in queſt of *Contagion*, and *hunt* for it at the Requeſt of Mr. *Remarker*: But as the Queſtion of the *Plague* being a *Contagious Diſtemper*, is a Queſtion about a *Fact*, very little incumbred with Phyſical Experience, I will inquire into the probability of the Fact, and endeavour to find the Truth of one Side of the Queſtion, or the other: Which Method I hope will be found more convincing than that made uſe of by the *Doctor*, and my *Remarker*.

The firſt Proof alleged for *Contagion* being propagated by *Air*, is a Conſtitution of Air, which *Hippocrates* obſerved to *precede peſtilential* Fevers; and this was a *hot Air attended with much Rain and Southerly Winds*.

It is wonderful to find ſo many Miſtakes in this moſt remarkable Paſſage of the great *Hippocrates*, which has been ever mentioned on all ſuch Occaſions, but never in the Senſe of our preſent Author. The uſe of any Language might have led him into the right meaning of this Obſervation of *Hippocrates*: For what *ſpreads* or *propagates* any thing, always accompanies and is active in propagating. A Gardiner that ſows *Muſtard-Seed*, does not precede his Seed,

and

and that comes not ſowing after him. Neither does Air *precede Plague-Seed*, and this comes ſowing after Air.

The Senſe of this Obſervation is very obvious: He entitles this ſecond Section * *the Conſtitution of Air that cauſes the Plague*, and relates in it, the kind of Weather that *precedes*, and the *Plagues* or *Fevers* that *follow*: He does not ſpeak of *Peſtilential-Fevers*, a ſingular Expreſſion, peculiar to Dr. *Mead* and others, who are Strangers to the Language of Phyſick. *Hot*, and *moiſt Air* then, and *Southerly Winds* are *Cauſes*; and *Fevers* or *Plagues*, *Effects* of theſe *Cauſes*.

This is the conſtant Opinion of all Phyſicians; and *Hippocrates* treating of the *Geneſis* of Fevers, † ſays, *there are two kinds of Fevers*: (*which are proper to be mentioned on this Occaſion*) *One that is common to every Perſon, and is called the* PLAGUE, *but the other only happens on account of the ill Diet of a Perſon.*

And therefore this Obſervation gives a Conſtitution of AIR, *that* BREEDS *the Plague, but concernes not the* PROPAGATING *it by* CONTAGION.

Our Doctor's next Argument for *Contagion* being propagated by *Air* is, that *ſtag-*

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* Epid. 3.
† Lib. de Flat. pag. 297. Foeſ.

nating Waters in hot Weather, *putrid Exhalations* from the Earth, unburied *Carcaſſes*, hade occaſioned *infectious* Diſeaſes. Granting all this to be true, it does not follow, that this *Infection* is a Plague; and far leſs, that *Air* propagates it by *Contagion.* For, every Author has confin'd this kind of Infection to the Places where theſe Particulars happen, under the Name of *Endemick* Diſeaſes; and do not allow of their wandering beyond their own Limits, where the *Carcaſſes*, &c. are found: So that this kind of Infection is not *common*, and is not proved to be contagious; and far leſs, that this *Contagion* is propagated by *Air.* And therefore we are ſtill at a Loſs for the ſmalleſt Proof of *Contagion* being propagated by Air. Our Doctor *propagates*, while his Arguments *beget:* which Defect proceeds from his not knowing the Difference between *Infection* and *Contagion*, Names very commonly made uſe of by Phyſicians.

Conſider we next, the Concluſions our Doctor draws out of his Proofs, brought from the foregoing Obſervations. The firſt whereof, is, that it is a *Concurrence* of Cauſes, whereby Diſeaſes of this kind are produced. A quaint Obſervation; eſpecially when only three things are brought as the *productive* Cauſe of *Plagues* or *Fevers*: this is *Hobſon's* Choiſe.

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His ſecond Concluſion is, that there is a Degree of *Stagnation* in the Air. It is hard to diſcover, how this Concluſion can be deduced from *hot and moiſt Air, and Southerly Winds*; for, as I take it, *Winds* of any ſort hinder this *Stagnation* in the leaſt Degree, and *Southerly* Winds as much as thoſe that are *Northerly*; tho' they are diametrically oppoſite on the Mariners Compaſs, and always bring *dry* Air in thoſe Countries that *Southerly* Winds bring *moiſt* Air. And therefore our Doctor muſt reſt contented without his *Stagnation* of Air, and every Degree of it: As alſo, if there is no *Stagnation*, no *Corruption* and *Putrefaction*; which are ſuppoſed to follow cloſe at the Heels of Stagnation. Thus is he deprived of his two principal Machines of *Contagion*, (as he reckons them) tho' he pulls them moſt unnaturally into his Service, and by the ſtrangeſt ſort of Philoſophy, ſuch, as was never uſed abroad, nor by us at home.

It is ſufficient to have ſhewn, how akwardly our Doctor has poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Stagnation* of Air, and its enſuing *Putrefaction*; and it were eaſy to ſhew, that *Fevers* and *Plagues* are generated in windy Weather; and while we are fanned with more than gentil Breezes: Which Facts are altogether inconſiſtent with our Doctor's Hypotheſis. On the Coaſt of *Africa*, the *Rains* mentioned by Dr. *Mead*, are accompanied

panied with *Hurricanes*; a very different State of Air from *Stagnation*. *Van Helmont* tells us of a Plague in his time, when the Weather was both *Dry* and *Windy*. And Doctor *Hodges*, speaking of the Plague of *London*, in 1665, says, *The whole Summer was refresh'd with moderate Breezes, sufficient to prevent the Airs Stagnation and Corruption.*

Moreover, had Dr. *Mead* come lawfully by *Putrefaction*; yet it is a general Word, that has no particular Sense, till it is joined to something else. Besides, if we knew, what kind of *Putrefaction* produc'd a particular *Infection*, we are still at a Loss about transfering this Infection and producing *Contagion*. And therefore, if we should lend him his *Concurrence* of Causes, *Stagnation* of Air, *Corruption and Putrefaction*, we know nothing of *Contagion* being propagated by *Air*: For indeed it is a mere *Hypothesis*, void of all Sense and Meaning.

But to return to my Remarker, who calls upon me, for alleging, that this hot and moist Air with Southerly Winds was one Constitution of Air, that made *Plagues* or *Feavers*; but that it was not the only *Constitution*, as they say *Galen* asserts. Nay, I go farther, that *Hippocrates* should have been mistaken too, if he had said so; and that because we find by Experience,

ence, that hard *Frosty Weather*, and *Hot* and *Dry* Weather, are Constitutions that likewise precede Plagues; and are, at least, their Antecedent Cause.

But I must ask my Remarker, what Author ever called *Hot* or *Moist Air* the only Constitution and State of Air that breeds the Pestilence. I know, Dr. *Mead* has these Words after the Observation of *Hippocrates*. *And one of them* (antientest and best Authors) *takes particular Notice, that no other than a moist and hot Temperament of Air brings the Plague.* But I know likewise, that *Galen* affirms no such thing about this Constitution of Air; and that the only Design of this suborning of *Galen*, is to favour the *Carrying* of Plagues by the Strength of this Sophistical Word, *Bring*: A sound Foundation for *Pestilential Contagion*, and the *Lazarets* that are built upon this fine Sophism. The rest of the Sentence is as false in Sense, as it is in Quotation; for it is neither *Galen*'s, nor *true*. And therefore our Doctor would only abuse Mankind, when he offers them false Quotations and illusive Arguments. When he tells us one of the antientest Authors of Physick, we naturally think him an Author as equal to *Hippocrates* for Age or *Antientness*, as he makes him of *Authority*. I have a great Esteem of both; but *Hippocrates* lived six hundred Years before *Galen*. At this time, however, their

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Authority is the ſame, that *viz.* of *Hippocrates*, to which *Galen* ſubſcribes: As far as he poſſibly can, in the Places Doctor *Mead* ſends us to.

Galen aſſerts* in the firſt of theſe Places, that *the Spring of the Year is not of a hot and moiſt Temperament; ſo far*, ſays he, *am I from thinking that any thing temperate is moiſt and hot, that I affirm the contrary: For of all the ambient Air, that is the worſt Temperament, which is hot and moiſt.——It happens* SOMETIMES, *in an unhealthy and peſtilent State of Air, as* Hippocrates *ſays in his Works*; meaning his *Epidemicks*. We find nothing here of *hot* and *moiſt Air*, being the only State and Conſtitution that cauſes the Plague; and far leſs of *bringing* it, *&c.* Nay, that this *moiſt* and *hot Air* happens *ſometimes* only to be a *peſtilent State*. So far is it from being the only State of Air, that preceeds a *Plague*.

When we conſult *Galen* in the other Place referr'd to by Dr. *Mead*, we find him giving quite another Account, than the Doctor alleges. *Galen* promiſes ſome known Opinions of *Hippocrates*.† *That it is a præternatural Change in the Air, that cauſes our Bodies to be ſeized with Diſtempers.* Here is nothing of curing them. Beſides, we have *Galen*'s Authority for *his* (*Hippocrates*) *relating what he had obſerved of Diſeaſes, which*

* Lib. 1. de Temperament. cap. 4.

† Lib. 3. Epid. Comm. 3.

which now moſt riſe, and of the Temperament of Air. All which is for finding the Cauſe of theſe Diſeaſes.

And therefore comparing this State of Air with that of *Cranon*, in the Second Book, *Galen* tells us, *That Moiſture without Wind, the ſame common Cauſe, produces Putridneſs its common Effect.* And that we may not miſtake this *Putridneſs*, he adds afterwards, Art. 24. *But that Fluxion, which was collected, was not like Pus* (no true Corruption) *but ſome other kind of Putrefaction.* Of which there are many mentioned among Phyſicians; tho' they have not yet found any, they can liken to that of the Plague: Which is no Wonder, ſince they had not particular Notions of the Nature of this Diſeaſe.

If then we ſhould ſuppoſe with Dr. *Mead*, that *hot* and *moiſt* Air might propagate Contagion; yet we find his making uſe of *Galen*'s Authority does not furniſh him with the Power of conveying it, even tho' there was no *hot* nor *moiſt* Air, but in *Eaſterly* and *Southerly* Countries. And we ſhall very ſoon perceive, that *Matth. Villanus* has not provided a Coach and Horſes for its eaſier Travelling, as our Doctor has imagined. Some fancied, they had ſeen a blue Cloud, that carried the Plague; but whether it was the Equipage it ſelf, or whatelſe, they do not tell us. Some want ſtill to be inform'd,

How, or Whether it is *brought*, or what *brings* it.

Had *Galen* ever thought, *hot* and *moiſt* Air the only Conſtitution and State of Air, that breeds (or brings) a Plague, here is offer'd the beſt Opportunity for him, to declare his Opinion: For in this very Section *Hippocrates* tells us, more than once; *Hot Fevers, then, and Frenzies, began before the Spring*, AFTER THE GREAT COLDS (the cold Weather) *that preceded.* The uſual Phraſe: *Great Numbers were ſick at that time, and ſtrugled under Great and* DEADLY CASES. If *Galen* had ever intended the fore-mentioned State of Air to be the general and univerſal Cauſe of the Plague, here is the beſt Opportunity offering for ſuch an Aſſertion. It is true, he muſt have contradicted his Maſter; but we ſhould have heard of this his Opinion. And as we no where find him on this Strain, it is very evident, that all this Invention is only in Favour of the important Word *Brings*. But that may bring any thing but the Plague.

Mr. *Remarker* is ſhorter with his Anſwer, and tells us, that it is *utterly falſe*, that cold froſty Weather ever breeds a Plague. His Reaſon is excellent, and worthy his Maſter, if he has not already provided him with it. *The Plague*, ſays he, *is never produced here without imported Contagion.*

Hitherto

Hitherto we find *Contagion* with *Air*, is plain Air, becauſe *Contagion* is nothing; and this Nothing of *Contagion* put with *Sick* or *Well*, or with *Goods* of any ſort, will hereafter be found to leave them, as it found them, h. e. *Goods*; and nothing more; *&c.* And therefore his Anſwer is not ſo much as hypothetical, but is no Anſwer at all; inſomuch that *Contagion* riding on an *Aſs*, or making an *Entry*, or being imported that way, is equally true as its riding upon Air, or in a Bed of Cotton: A mere Tale of a Tub.

Now follows a better Anſwer. *Cold Weather is known to reſiſt it* (the Plague) *very much.* This is begging the Queſtion. *Did not the Plague ſtop very much laſt Winter in* France, *ſo that at* Marſeilles *they thought themſelves very nigh clear of it? And did it not break out again, when the Weather grew hot?* In general, we may oppoſe to theſe ſingle Inſtances *three* great *Plagues*, that have been in the North within theſe Dozen of Years, all of them in the Winter; and where we had great Fleets bound up in Ice, during that rigid and hard *Conſtitution*; and the Ships Companies thereof were obliged to be Spectators of all the Havock of theſe Plagues, without any Hurt or Injury done to themſelves. And therefore it is manifeſt, that a *continued hard Froſt* is a proper *Conſtitution* of *Air* for

breeding *Plagues* and *Fevers*, tho' my Remarker and all his Aſſociates ſhould ſwear to the Contrary.

Beſides the Plagues in *Stockholm*, *Dantzig* and *Hambourgh*, our laſt great Plague of *London* began in *December*, 1664, when the Weather was *cold*, and every thing was bound up by *Froſt*, and in *Ice*, as Dr. *Hodges* atteſts: Theſe are his Words*, *Cæterum, ne diutius in limite hæream, non hic loci prætermittendum Gelu immodice ſævum menſe Decembri occæpiſſe, ad tres uſque Lunæ circuitus continuum.* We are likewiſe informed in Hiſtory of a very general Plague in the Year 1119. in a very froſty Seaſon. And therefore this Conſtitution of hard Froſt breeding a Plague is as obvious as any other *Conſtitution* whatſoever.

Now as to my Remarker's firſt Queſtion, If the Plague did not ſtop very much laſt Winter in *France?* No: The Report of its ſpreading was ſuppreſt, as his Maſter can inform him. So far was it from ſtoping in the Winter, that, the Sheriffs expecting it would ſtop, were ſurpriz'd * *and aſtoniſhed at the Increaſe of the Mortality.* This was on the 5th of *September*; and in the 7th of *October, the Plague was ſtill more violent.* So far were the People of *France* from being free from the Plague, in their own Opinion, that

* Pag. 5.

* Pag. 45. of the Journal.

that they found it raging more violently, to their woeful Experience.

His next Queſtion, Whether it did not break out again, when the Weather grew hot? Not at all: This is likewiſe manifeſt from all publick Accounts, but eſpecially that ſent by the *Marquis de Pons*, laſt *June*. I will again repeat his Words, they come ſo fully up as an Anſwer; and venture the French General's Character againſt that of an 100 ſuch Remarkers. *The Court*, ſays the *Paris* Gazette, *has received a Letter from the Marquis de Pons, who coumands at Toulon, with Advice, that the* Hot WEATHER *had much diminiſh'd the Plague in that City.* And therefore the Plague in *France* did not only increaſe in the cold Weather, and in the Winter; but abated likewiſe in the hot Weather in the Summer.

His Queſtion about our Plague in 1665, is more impertinent, becauſe it is more eaſily diſproved. *Did it not*, ſays Remarker, *lie quiet without deſtroying above half a ſcore Perſons all the cold Weather, till the Summer-heat put it in Action?* And did not the next Winter wholly ſuppreſs it? But it is the Fate of my Remarker, to have a Negative upon all his Queſtions. At preſent, tho' this Plague made a ſlow Progreſs in the Beginning (as we find all Plagues do) yet it neither encreaſed with the Heat of the Weather, nor was its Violence the greateſt,

eſt, when the Heat was greateſt: Nor did the Winter ſuppreſs it. The greateſt Heat with us, is from the Middle of *June*, to the Middle of *Auguſt*; and in all that time the greateſt Number of the Dead was *Auguſt* the 15. when 3880 died that Week. The laſt Week of this Month, when the Seaſon grew colder, the Number of Dead amounted to 6102. Every Week after in *September*, except the laſt, increaſed more and more, and that too was higher than the higheſt Week in the hot Weather. So far was it from abating with the Winter. The general Bill of that Year, *viz.* 1665, does not ſhow its being ſuppreſſed in the Winter: But I end with Capt. *Graunt's* Bill.

It is ſtrange, to find Men of Probity take up with Conceits of their own, in Oppoſition to all the Experience of the World. My Remarker is hardned in Calumny: But I deſire the reſt of the World to conſider, what paſſes in *hot* Countries, in relation to the Plague's abating in the cooler Seaſon; and increaſing in a hot one. In *Ægypt*, and in all the *Turkiſh* Dominions, the Plague begins commonly in *February*, a cool Seaſon; and ends, almoſt to a Day, on the 24th of *July*, their *hoteſt* Seaſon. Let Mr. Remarker and his Maſter take notice of an Obſervation, made by their great Friend * *Matthæus Villani*, who tells us of a Plague in his Time.

There

* Matth. Villani *lib.* 1. *Hiſtoriar.*

There broke out a Plague in *Venice* in the Year 1348, in the Month of *March*. It was at its Height in *April* and *May*. It begun to decline *July*, and ended in *Auguſt*. *Matthæus Villani*, who leaves us this Account: was an Eye-Witneſs of this Plague, and tells us, that it did not exceed the firſt Month in any Places, where it had ſhown it ſelf. So that a Plague will end in hot Weather, according to Dr. *Mead*'s darling Author.

Other Conſtitutions of Air, that breed the Plague, might be produced; if their Hiſtory could any ways be uſeful in our preſent Inquiry. It will be more proper, to draw ſome uſeful Inferences, from what has been ſaid; that we may produce ſome Concluſions out of this barren Inquiry, tho' we do not find the leaſt Shadow of an Argument, or of a Proof for propagating *Contagion* by Air.

It is, then, very manifeſt, that a *Plague* is the Manufacture of every Country; becauſe the *two* memorable Conſtitutions of Air, and Breeders of Plagues, are every where to be met with. And therefore we are under no Neceſſity of bringing Plague-Seed from any diſtant Country whatſoever.

It follows likewiſe, that the fore-mentioned Conſtitutions of Air are able enough to infect every Perſon within the Sphere of its Activity, they being equally and duely

diſpoſed.

diſpoſed. In that Caſe, the Efficacy of Air is not ſcanty, and able only to infect two or three People; in order to their *transfering* it by *Contagion*, and *propagating* the Plague to the Reſt: Which Notion is by no Means Philoſophical, and impeaches the Power of the State of the Air, againſt all Experience.

We may, thirdly, conclude, that it is the Conſtitution of Air only, that we regard when Hiſtorians relate their Accounts of a Plague; but nothing of its *Travels*: For *Hippocrates* ſpoke of *Southerly* Winds; becauſe, in the *Levant*, theſe Winds came loaded with *Moiſture*; but not that he, or any of his Succeſſors, ever dream'd of a *Plague*, being the natural Product of *Southern* Countries, in order to be ſown to the *Northward*.

The great Pattern of writing Hiſtory, *Thucydides* *, after a terrible Account of the Tyranny and inflexible Cruelty of the Plague of *Athens*, tells us, That *it began (according to common Report) in* Ethiopia, *from whence it fell down into* Egypt, *and from thence got footing in* Africk, *and a great Part of* Perſia; *but thereafter pour'd down upon* Athens, *with all its Violence.* In Imitation of *Thucydides*, *Matthæus Villanus* waftes his Plague in 1348 into *Italy*, out of *Greece*, cloſely following this excellent Hiſtorian in every Article

* Lib. 2.

ticle of his Hiſtory of *Florence*, in things as well as Method, as far as they could go together. But Phyſicians muſt always remember, that this is but a *Report*, and no better than another Report of the *Peloponeſians* having poiſoned all the *Pits* or *Wells* of Water in *Athens*, to which too the Cauſe of this Plague was aſcribed.

But as *Thucydides* did not think fit, to inſiſt upon idle Stories, that are without Number on ſuch Occaſions, ſo he leaves all ſuch Reports to be examin'd by thoſe who underſtand Inquiries into the true Cauſes of Things; contenting himſelf, to relate the true Fact, as he found it upon himſelf, and as he ſaw the Plague on other Sick. This, *ſays he*, will be for Information to Poſterity, if ever the Plague ſhould return again.

Phyſicians therefore, conſidering every *Conſtitution of Air*, as the productive *Cauſe*, never as the feigned and fanciful *Carrier* of *Plagues*, and other Diſeaſes; Doctor *Mead* has been very ſingular, in winging the Plague on Air; and he was certainly in great Diſtreſs for importing *Contagion*, when he thus contemns the ſage *Councils*, and neglects the *Rules* of *Hippocrates* and *Thucydides*; the firſt the *Prince* of Phyſicians, as the laſt is of Hiſtorians. Yet this is the great Principle that deſtroys the *Quiet* and *Peace* of the

World, and *ruins* its *Traffick*, this mighty Inſtrument of Wealth.

Laſtly, by diſcourſing from the antient Foundations of *Hippocrates*, we very eaſily underſtand, that the ſeveral Qualities our Doctor gives the Air, on ſeveral Occaſions, are but ſo many Trap-Doors, that now fly open as often as he takes his Retreat thro' them, *viz.* foreign Contagions, imported hither; but * *which have proved leſs malignant here by our Air, not being diſpoſed to receive ſuch Impreſſions*: And this Aphoriſm, that, one would think, contradicts the former †, *There being in every Air a greater Diſpoſition to Contagion at one time than another, we* &c. Our Author is well provided with many ſuch Sayings, and he finds them very uſeful at any time he finds himſelf ſtreightned in an Argument.

I ſhould take the Senſe of his laſt Aphoriſm to be, That the Air has, at ſometimes, a greater Power to infect us, than at other times. My Remarker has given up the quaint Obſervations Dr. *Mead* had brought out by this Back-Door, and I will conſider the Juſtneſs and the Truth of the Obſervation he brings by the former: This being as ſingular an Attempt, on Fact, Hiſtory, and Men's Underſtanding, as is to be found in any Romance whatſoever; eſpecially that my Remarker

* Pag. 6.

† 9.

Remarker may not think himſelf neglected, if I paſs him by at this time.

The Sweating-Sickneſs, *called the* Sudor Anglicus *and* Febris Ephemera Britannica, becauſe it was commonly thought to have taken its Riſe here, was *moſt probably of a foreign Original, and no other than a* Plague *abated in its Violence by the mild Temperament of our Climate.*

Is it not wonderful to think how Dr. *Mead* ever hoped to get Credit to an Aſſertion, ſo very contrary to all Civil and Phyſick Hiſtory. His great Experience of Mankind gives us ſtrange Notions of their degenerating in our Iſland, and their ſinking into the moſt ſenſeleſs Credulity. But what Notions can we have of our Doctor, who has thus practis'd upon Mankind, ſo as to make ſuch Diſcoveries of this their Credulity.

Phyſicians have ever called this *Engliſh* Plague *Sudor Anglicus*, and the learned Dr. *Keyes*, to whom Dr. *Mead* ſends us for further Information, *Febris Ephemera Britanica* in his learned and elegant Book on that Subject. My Lord *Bacon* too, in his Life of *Henry* VII. words it under the Name of *Sweating Sickneſs*. And therefore, in all Reaſon it will eternally be believed a Plague of *Engliſh* Original, and that it never was out of *England*, but on the Perſons of

Engliſhmen; unleſs Dr. *Mead* can bring us better Vouchers, than theſe already named: And if he cannot, he perverts all Hiſtory to make a Complement to *Engliſh* Air; which too he quickly ſpoils, when he tells us of its being *undoubtedly corrupted*; or by this Experiment he gives us an Eſſay of our preſent Credulity.

* *In the Iſland of Britain*, ſays the learned *Fracaſtorius*, *there is a Sort of peſtilent Fever, which is properly ranked among the Ephemeræ; becauſe in one Day Men either die, or eſcape its Fury.* It is therefore manifeſt, that this great Phyſician was a Stranger to this Fever having ever been ſeen among the *Turks*, tho' he lived under that Government, who had then the greateſt Traffick in the *Levant*. The *French* too know nothing of the *Sweating Sickneſs*, being in their Country; inſomuch, that *Jul. Palmarius*, a famous *Paris* Phyſician, writing of *contagious* Diſeaſes, has theſe remarkable Words †: *Extraordinary Plagues, which newly ſpring up, as the* SWEATING FEVER, *called by ſome* SYDROPYRETON, *which in this our Age has wonderfully afflicted the Britains.* So this Britiſh Sickneſs was *News* in *France*; the *French* having the Happineſs, to know no more, but the bare Report, and Fame, of it, and that brought from our, then, unfortunate Iſland. And therefore,

* lib. 2. de Morb. Contagioſ. cap. 5.
† *Palmar.* pag. 363.

fore, if the *Sweating Sickneſs* travelled from *Turky* thro' *France*, it travelled *incognito*; much to the Diſhonour of our Doctor's Hypotheſis; but more to his Honeſty, and his Faithfulneſs, in relating Hiſtory.

Doctor *Keyes*, to whom our Author ſends us for our Information, and who is without Doubt the moſt proper Perſon to inform us; both as he is the Phyſician, who lived near the firſt Attacks of the *Sweating Sickneſs*, and was a Witneſs of the reſt; as alſo that he was an able and learned Perſon, well qualified to relate his Obſervations. Doctor *Keyes*, I ſay, aſſerts, that the *Sweating-Sickneſs* was a *Plague* peculiar to *England*, and which infeſted *Engliſhmen* only. But as his Book remains ſtill in Latin, I will take the Liberty, to tranſcribe ſome Paſſages, that ſute this Occaſion, from a little Book, call'd *Caii Spectrum*, or *Dr. Keyes's Charge againſt Dr.* M---. *The Ghoſt* charges his Doctor, for miſrepreſenting his whole *Hiſtory* of the Sweating Sickneſs. * *You tell your Living, that the Sweating Sickneſs* began in the Army, with which King *Henry* the Seventh came from *France*, and landed in *Wales*. *But I ſay, that it is neither a New Sickneſs in* England, *nor was it brought hither from foreign Parts. For I am taught from Britiſh Hiſtory, that the Sickneſs began in Britain, and in the Army of Henry* VIIth, *part of which*

* Pag. 4.

which Army he had lately brought from France, and partly among the new Levies he had made in Wales. The GHOST *complains heavily of his Doctor, making him a Voucher for the Plague, taking* its Journey from the Siege of *Rhodes* into *England*, by the way of *France*. My Words are, * *Should I admit, that this Diſeaſe was bred in the* Trojan, Biſcayæ, *or* Rhodiſh *War*, (as ſome have gueſſed) *and not in* Britain. *Do I hereby aſſert, that the Sweating Sickneſs was in France, or that it was brought thither from the Siege of Rhodes. My Account is very ſurprizing, that the* Engliſh, *in* Britain, *were alone afflicted with the Diſtemper; and that the* French, *or* Scots *were never affected with it.*

From all this Account it is true, beyond Contradiction, that the *Sweating Sickneſs* had its Riſe here, and was not of a foreign Original, as our Doctor boldly aſſerts againſt all the Hiſtory of theſe Times, and eſpecially againſt Doctor *Keyes*'s, whom he recommends to us for our Inſtruction: and only to make a Complement to *Engliſh* Air; and therefore we ſhall next conſider, how much this ſuppoſed foreign *Plague abated of its Violence, by the mild Temperament of our Climate.* Or, rather how, in ſpite of our temperate Climate, we came by a moſt deſtroying Plague.

* *The*

Pag. 6.

* *The Sweating Sickneſs begun at Shrewſbury*, ſays the learned and elegant Doctor *Keyes*, *a fortified Town on the Severn, and treated the People ſo unmercifully, that it* deſtroyed *almoſt every Perſon in thoſe and the neighbouring Parts. It ſpared no Sex, Age, nor Conditions of Men. Some it* deſtroyed *in a* Moment; *ſome in* one, two, *or* three; *and others in the ſpace of* four Hours. *One complained, that* Thirſt *had kill'd him; another, that he was conſumed with* Heat; *All, that they were carried off in a* Sweat.

Thus mild was this Plague of *Feeble Force*, whoſe *Violence* our Doctor would perſuade us *abated* by the *mild Temperament of Engliſh Air*. To what purpoſe all this miſrepreſenting of Facts in our *Engliſh* Hiſtory, and in our *Engliſh* Phyſicians, and with equal Diſregard to this heavy Calamity of our Anceſtors.

The Lord *Bacon* in his Life of *Henry* 7th, tells us of the great Havock made upon our Countrymen by the *Sweating Sickneſs*. *Infinite Perſons*, ſays that Noble Author, *died ſuddenly of the Diſeaſe, in twenty four Hours. And*, ſays Doctor *Keyes* *, *Flight* (*the common Security in every other Peſtilence*) *was now an empty Name, there being no where a ſafe Retreat to be found for Engliſhmen*;

* *Caji* Spectrum, pag. 8.

† Pag. 9.

men; for the Diſeaſe was now ſpread every where. And when our Countrymen found no Shelter at home, ſome retired among the Scots, while others fled to the Netherlands; and ſome ſailed into France, and others to Ireland. But all this was likewiſe vain; for thereby they had only great Fatigue, *but no Safety.*

To what Purpoſe has our Doctor ſent us to Doctor *Keyes*, for a Voucher of *bad Contagions*, from abroad being brought over to us, which have proved leſs malignant here by our *Air*, *not being diſpoſed to receive ſuch Impreſſions*. For my part, I think quite the Contrary appears from this Account of the learned Doctor *Keyes*; and that he and the forementioned Authors agree in determining, that this cruel Plague was not known abroad, otherwiſe than that it had raged violently in *England*.

I know but one Uſe our Doctor had for this Invention, which is not ſo much to complement the Salubrity of *Engliſh* Air, as to provide himſelf of two Keys, whereby he may ſhut up, and open a Plague, as he finds Occaſion. This is one, and we may bring another, from page 13. *A corrupted State of Air*, ſays our Doctor, *is without Doubt neceſſary*, &c. Now as he is an Author of *Sayings*, but not of *Argument*, he can ſhut up a Plague at one Place, by the Purity of the Air, and ſhut it, or open it again by its Corruptneſs, as he thinks fit.

Thus

Thus have I discover'd the true Purpose our Doctor has, in perverting the History of Physick. Honest People, that are not accustomed to the Turns of Politicians, will think this Scheme very ridiculous, because it is very thin, and easily peep'd through. But I have known a Physician become very popular, and receive the People's Money in great Abundance, by two Machines of the like Nature. *Promising* Health to the *Sick*, at home; and their *Death* to Strangers, abroad; this has establish'd so great a Character of Omniscience, that People have run with as great Eagerness, to deliver their Money and Health too, as ever they did, to surrender their Money and Estates for a *South-Sea* Subscription. The sick Person, that was promised Health by the Doctor; and they that were in the Secret of the great Danger of the Sick, must think the Doctor a Master of Life and Death. But if the sick Person happens to die, they of the Family may be surpriz'd with a Death contrary to all their Expectation: But greater Numbers, without Doors, know, that Death was unavoidable. And these two contrary Assertions are very useful upon many Occasions, as we shall often find hereafter.

My Remarker is very ingenious in his Observations, on what I have writ of the *Sweating-Sickness*. I had said, that it was a Disease peculiar to *England*, and that a

Parcel of it went into *Holland*; which he is pleaſed to call a Contradiction. But this will not appear ſo to any other Body; for why ſhould it be ſtrange, that an *Engliſhman* infected with the *Sweating-Sickneſs*, ſhould bring it forth there, or in *Germany*, if my Remarker pleaſes.

His next Remark (in his Maſter's Defence, for calling the Sickneſs a Plague of Feeble Force) is wide of the Purpoſe; for which Reaſon I omitted that Refuge of Dr. *Mead's*, when I conſider'd his Book: For my *Lord Bacon* is informing us, how kindly it went off at laſt, when there was an End of its Fury; a very different State from what he told us before, of its killing infinite Perſons.

But to return in Search of Contagion, and to be as good as my Promiſe, I will now lend him *Putrefaction*, which I had ſtript him off before, becauſe he came not fairly by it; but what he ſlips ſlily enough upon us, when we are to return to our Inquiry about propagating Contagion by Air, * *which* (Air) our Doctor ſays, *we left in a putrid State.* But where? Was not *Corruption* and *Putrefaction*, the laſt Time we dealt in them, ſuppoſed to be the Conſequence and Effect of *Stagnation* in the Air; which *Stagnation* was likewiſe merely ſuppoſed. And therefore the Doctor muſt acknow-

* Pag. 11.

acknowledge, that the Air was not, really, left in a *putrid State*; but in a *putrid* State, as he ſuppoſed. But, as I do not intend to give him the leaſt Interruption, when his great Scheme, of propagating Contagion by Air, is ready to be opened; let us with great Patience, and a ſuitable Gravity, attend to the weighty Matters, that flow from his begg'd *Putrefaction*. *Putrefaction*, ſays our Doctor, is a kind of *Fermentation*. All Bodies in a Ferment *Emit* a *volatile active* Spirit, of *Power* to *agitate* and put into *inteſtine* Motions, that is, to *change* the *Nature* of other *Fluids*, into which it inſinuates it ſelf.

Here the powerful Operation of *Putrefaction* or Fermentation is diſplay'd: Here we find it cunningly ſuggeſted, that *Putrefaction*, like *Fermentation*, put Liquors into inteſtine Motions; by which it changes their Nature, and ſends forth *volatile*, active Spirits: Which * *is one Step towards Contagion*; and the only Step we have hitherto made that way: Nay, ſo great a Step, that it is a downright *Stride*.

Moreover, our Doctor tells us, *Putrefaction*, or its Abetter, *Fermentation*, is of ſo great Efficacy and *Power*, that (was he in the Humour) he could *ſhew* from the beſt Theory of Fevers (that of *Bellini*, as he gives us to underſtand), *how the Alterations*

* Pag. 12.

tions made in the Blood this way (of Putrefaction) will favour peſtilential Diſeaſes, by rendring the Body obnoxious to them. But the Digreſſion would be too great. And who can think ſo, beſides our Doctor?

Thus we have once more got Sight of Contagion: But, as I formerly obſerved, it was only in *Fairy-land*, becauſe every Article of his *Soritick* Enumeration is falſe. *Putrefaction* does not always precede *Fermentation*; nor does every Body in a Ferment emit *volatile* Spirits; neither have volative Spirits a *Power* to *agitate*, or put Liquors into *inteſtine Motions* (alias into a Fermentation) and far leſs to *change* the *Nature* of the Fluids thus fermented. A very powerful Scheme, founded on a Series of Falſhoods.

One thing more I now add, That if every thing the Doctor begs, were true, and all his Liquors and Ferments performed, as he has play'd them; we muſt ſtill be at a Loſs for *Contagion*; ſo that his Scheme would not come home, amidſt all theſe beautiful Suppoſitions. So far is he from makeing one poor Step nearer *Contagion*.

I have dwelt the longer on this Article, becauſe it not only opens a wonderful Scheme, but alſo with *Fermentation*, the Maſter-Key of all Philoſophy. It is now Time, to hear my Remarker, in Vindication

of

of his Maſter. Why he will only have *Putrefaction* a kind of *Fermentation*: But this is falſe; for when Putrefaction has any Buſineſs with Fermentation, it always precedes it. Theſe Verbs, beginning with *pre*, are particularly unlucky; for *precede* is as untoward here, as *premiſe* was formerly. More than this I cannot, for my Life, draw out of him; tho' he is throughly fermented, even to Putrefaction, or *Stinking*; which is a ſure Mark of it.

All the Jeſts, ſays worthy Remarker, *that follow, upon Fermentation, are very ridiculous; for Fermentation is certainly one great Principle.* And do not I ſay ſo too? If his *Maſter*, or any other *Chymical* Phyſician, or Philoſopher, thinks it more powerful, than my Remarker does; or that it can play more Tricks, I think ſo too: And this is all the Jeſt, my Remarker calls ridiculous. If all this is a Jeſt, why is my Remarker ſo Teſty? Why does he forſake his Maſter in the very Time he wanted him moſt. My Remarker has, in vain, alleged *Secret Hiſtory*; ſuborned one living *Voucher*; deny'd Matters of Fact, known to be ſo by many thouſands, now alive. In vain did he call the *Governour* of *Toulon* a Blockhead, for relating a Matter of Fact, in Oppoſition to Mr. Remarker, and his Maſter's Philoſophy; if he fails at the Opening of the Scheme of *Putrefaction*. Theſe *learned* Arguments, theſe *nice* Civilities,

lities, were all in order, to land at this Concluſion; and yet a Perſon to faint, now, who has all along ſhewn ſo much Spirit; who has emitted ſo many ſtinking Spirits; enough to have ſtiffled any ſound Perſon, may juſtly raiſe our Admiration. This Matter will appear ſtill more wonderful, that *Fermentation* in a good Hand (ſuch as I took my Remarker) could *diſſolve* any Argument, as readily is it did any Subſtance. I will only ſay, that the Cauſe is now become deſperate, when ſo hard a Head has nothing to offer, and at a Time when the very being of the Cauſe depends upon it.

My Remarker's Maſter has ſo high an Opinion of *Fermentation*, that he thinks it the moſt *omnipotent* Principle in Nature: And tho' Mr. *Remarker* may be his beſt *Machine* for *Tradition*; yet *Fermentation* is much the beſt for an Argument.

That I may not appear to advance this Aſſertion without very good Ground, we have an Inſtance of it in the Paragraph, following the *Feats* of Fermentation, *Putrefaction's* equal; for he brags of the great Matters he could perform by it, on Doctor *Bellini*'s the beſt *Theory* of Fevers: And why not on his 28 Prop. of the Plague?

But this happens to be a moſt unhappy Piece of Oſtentation, which ſhews very plainly, that our Doctor does not underſtand what

what he ſays; and as little of *Bellini*, as of the Man in the Moon. However good Doctor *Bellini*'s Theory of Fevers may be; it would not be half ſo good as it truly is, if it might be mended by *Fermentation*, or by Dr. *Mead*. In the Name of Wonder, how could it ever come into our Doctor's Head, to do Feats upon any Theory of Doctor *Bellini*, by the Help of *Fermentation*. There is not a Perſon, that ever read any thing of that Learned and Judicious *Italian* Author, who is ignorant, that *Bellini* was the principal Perſon, that turned out *Fermentation* from medling with the Theory of Diſeaſes; when all the World was as mad with that *Jargon*, as ever they were with *Peripatetick* Philoſophy. Dr. *Mead* then, muſt have no Notion of *Bellini*'s Theory of Fevers, or elſe that he thinks he can do greater Feats by it, than ever were performed before. Theſe my Remarker calls, civilly, *ridiculous Jeſts*; which Reflection falls full back upon his Maſter; becauſe this *Jargon* was always, in my Opinion, very ridiculous.

I blamed Doctor *Mead* for thinking it a *Digreſſion*, to explain, *how the Alterations made in the Blood this way, will favour* PESTILENTIAL *Diſeaſes*. For if *Putrefaction*, or vicarious *Fermentation*, could teach us this; then no Body could blame our Doctor for ſuch an uſeful Digreſſion; and had not I reaſon, *to wiſh, he would begin*

gin thus to digreſs. And, I ſaid in the foregoing Page, that this is the Favour we had long waited for. But my Remarker anſwers, *No ſuch Matter; for this has no where been promiſed.* I do acknowledge, that his Maſter no where promiſes to apply *Fermentation* to *Bellini*'s Theory; but I ſhould never have thought ſo neceſſary a *Digreſſion* at all blamable, that informed us *of the Alterations in the Blood, whereby we became obnoxious to* Peſtilential *Diſeaſes.*

Moreover, had Dr. *Mead* either underſtood the Subject he was treating, or what he is very ſoon to enter upon, he would have found the Applying any Theory, that would improve this *Theory* of *Bellini* highly commendable; even tho' he had told every Word, in the very Words of *Bellini.* It is plain, that our Doctor did not know, what he was doing, when he called the explaining Fevers a *Digreſſion.* Is not his firſt, but falſe Step, towards *vagrant* Contagion, ſought in *hot* and *moiſt* Air, which *Hippocrates* obſerves to precede *Plagues* and *Fevers*; and which our Doctor is ſo delighted with, that he will not hear of any other *Seaſon*, that is, in the leaſt, qualified, to produce *Plagues* beſides that: And therefore nothing could poſſibly have been ſo proper, as to have apply'd skilfully *Putrefaction* to have more fully explain'd what *Hippocrates* took to be one of Cauſe *Plagues* and Fevers.

A good Account of Fevers was ſo very neceſſary to Doctor *Mead*, that it would have been the cleareſt Tranſition into his next Step of Inquiry after Contagion, that he could wiſh for; for there we find the *Doctor*, *Fermentation*, and *Fevers*, enter all three at a time, without any previous Appointment, or their knowing any thing of one another. So that he had been nothing out of his Way, if he had made them acquainted a little ſooner.

My Remarker will, by no means, have his Maſter and antient Phyſicians aſunder; and he, therefore, thus replies on that Article, *Does Doctor* Mead *ſay, that the Peſtilence is ever without a Fever.* But Mr. *Remarker* muſt remember, that Dr. *Mead* has not hitherto ſaid any thing of a *Peſtilence*, nor of what Company it kept; but if the Peſtilence is never without a Fever in my Remarker's Opinion; then applying Fermentation to the beſt Theory of Fevers had not been a Digreſſion: Conſequently my Remarker and I agree, that his Maſter might have given us ſome Light into the Plague, by Help of Fermentation; which *Phoſphorus* had not been a Digreſſion, but a Moon, at leaſt, to have guided us, by this Improvement he could have made on Fevers, into the Nature of the Plague.

But, ſays *Remarker*, what if Doctor *Mead* had neglected applying his Machine of

Contagion to Fevers, this had not been ſo abſurd, as the *Explainer* would make it appear to be: For, ſays my learned Remarker, *our Predeceſſors in Phyſick are not unanimous; for ſome have aſſerted the Plague to have been ſometimes without a Fever.* But I ſay, that this had been very abſurd, becauſe the beſt Account of Infection we have yet met with in our Doctor's Diſcourſe, is the Obſervation of *Hippocrates*, about the *Conſtitution of Air*, when *Plagues* or *Fevers* are bred; which our Doctor has eſpouſed as their only Cauſe; as I obſerv'd very lately, and what I need not repeat.

And if *ſome* Phyſicians have only *ſometimes* aſſerted the Plague to have been without a Fever; my Remarker, then, muſt confeſs, that Phyſicians have been very unanimous in the ancient Doctrine of the Plague being a Fever; tho' that Unanimity did not amount to a *nemine contradicente*; which is ſufficient to make good my Charge againſt your Maſter: Whom therefore you have truly and properly given up.

This Accuſation is ſo home, that it will not admit of any manner of Excuſe, if we remember that I ſpoke of *Hippocrates*, and our *Predeceſſors* from him for near *two thouſand Years*: All which were unanimous, *nemine contradicente*, that a *Plague* was a *Fever*. And therefore I cannot imagine any Reaſon, beſides Inability, that could hinder our Doctor, *Remarker's* learned and judicious

Maſter

Maſter, from applying *Fermentation*, to the great Loſs of his Improvements on the beſt Theory of Fevers, and to the equal Diſregard of ancient Phyſicians, our Predeceſſors. The *Predeceſſors* my Remarker mentions, are not *unanimous* on his Side of the Queſtion, and are not *ancient*; as I ſtated it in ending my *Preface*, theſe are the Words: *Quæ forſan eſt vera cauſa, quamobrem pauciſſimi Hiſtorici, ac nullus pene Medicus, ſive* Græcus, *ſive* Latinus, *ſive* Arabs, *uſque ad* Avorum *noſtrorum memoriam* Contagii *fomitis mentionem ſcriptis ullam relinquerit.* And therefore theſePredeceſſors are not to be conſider'd, in Oppoſition to what I advanced upon the conſtant Agreement of ancient Phyſicians. I do not take my *Remarker* to have any Acqauintance with his Authors. I think he had better concealed *Diomedes Amicus*; becauſe his Maſter is charged as a *Plagiary* from that Author; tho' he has really ſo corrupted every thing, that his Writing ought to be wholly his own Performance. Only Mr. *Remarker* has aſſured us, that his Maſter does not pretend to have writ any thing that is new.

My Remarker's laſt Effort deſerves our particular Conſideration; not only as it is his laſt ſtruggle for Life; but that it diſplays his extraordinary Underſtanding of the Subject before him. He thinks *there is a great Difference between a* Plague, *differing nothing from a* Fever, *and a Fever's accompanying it.*

His Reaſon is excellent and judicious: *The firſt ſeeming to imply, that there are no Specifick Marks that diſtinguiſh the Plague from other Fevers.*

None at all: For if a *Plague* is a *Fever*, and a *Fever* is a *Plague*; neither of theſe Names make either a Plague the *eſſential* Diſeaſe, or a Fever a *Symptom*; but both theſe Names denote Diſeaſes of the ſame kind, tho' not ſpecifically the ſame. The Plague is the top Degree of a Fever, and there are two of theſe in the Opinion of *Hippocrates*; and yet the Word Fever, denotes the *Genus* comprehending all Orders, Degrees, and Kinds of Fevers whatſoever. What my Remarker urges by no Means juſtifies his Inference; for tho' *Fever* is the general Name, and a *Plague*, is a *Species* of a Fever: Yet all the different Kinds of Fevers, are as ſpecificially diſtinct from one another, as any other two Diſeaſes: Or there are ſpecifick Marks which diſtinguiſh the Plague from other Fevers. And therefore there is no Manner of Abſurdity in my Propoſition; and it is not ſo much *as well nigh contrary to what this Author (Explainer) ſays himſelf afterwards.* Let this rather paſs for ſome of my-out-of-the-way Things, as he hereafter complements me, that do not enter into this Head: But what will never be found a Contradiction to any thing I had ſaid. I find my Remarker's Roll of Fevers is very ſmall; but if it was greater,

ter, the Counteſs of *Kent*'s Powder, and *Jeſuits* Powder muſt cure all, and the reſt muſt be left to the *Setters*, in caſe of a Miſcarriage.

Thus my *Remarker* may be perſwaded, that his *Maſter* has not done right to his Subject, in neglecting to conſider the Plague as a Fever, whether he conceive it an *eſſential* Fever, or a *Symptom* only: And in ſo doing, he has not had due Regard to *Hippocrates*, from whom he has borrowed three Lines, the only ſenſible thing I have hitherto met with in all his Diſcourſe. I will next conſider, how he can make his next Step towards *Contagion*, without the Means and Aſſiſtance of a Fever; and whether any natural Inability might occaſion this Omiſſion.

Now he begins a new Tale, and thus makes another great Step, but with more than ordinary Humility, towards Contagion. *The next, as it ſeems to me, proceeds after this* Manner. *The Blood in all* Malignant *Fevers, eſpecially peſtilential ones* (welcome *Peſte* for the firſt time, and in Company with Fevers) *at the latter End of the Diſeaſe, does like fermenting Liquors throw off a great Quantity of active Particles upon the ſeveral* Glands *of the Body, particularly upon thoſe of the* Mouth *and Skin, from which the Secretions are naturally the moſt conſtant and large. Theſe, in* peſtilential *Caſes, although the*

the Air be in a right State, will generally infect thoſe, who are very near to the ſick Perſon; otherwiſe are ſoon diſperſed and loſt. But when they met in an evil Diſpoſition of the Air, they are more powerful, and may be conveyed to a great Diſtance from the Diſeaſed Body.

Surely our celebrated Doctor lays too great a Streſs on his *Setters*; whom we find ready, on every Turn, to vouch for his Abilities, and to caluminate and defame every Perſon that is not in the Gang; tho' he is not an Enemy: But we find Men will judge for themſelves of a Book. And therefore how can Dr. *Mead* look up in the World, after his avoiding to apply *Fermentation* to *Bellini*'s Theory of Fevers; and that now meet together, altogether by Chance, or rather naturally and in Courſe of his Method. Here are *Malignant Fevers* and *Peſtilential* Ones, throwing off a great Quantity of *active* Particles like *fermenting* Liquors. Was it not then incumbent on our Doctor to have proved all this, and all this by *Fermentation* and the *Doctrine* of Fevers; more eſpecially *Bellini*'s Theory; becauſe he thinks that the beſt: But more particularly by explaining his Doctrine of the *Plague*.

It is very ſuſpicious, that ſome natural Inability might occaſion this Omiſſion; eſpecially, that he now cunningly pawns all

theſe

theſe upon us in a Breath: Did ever any Perſon, that had read any thing of Fevers, or can pretend to the leaſt Knowledge of *Bellini*'s *Theory* aſſert; that Fevers, and far leſs Plagues, throw off a great Quantity of active Particles upon the ſeveral Glands of the Body, at the latter End of Fevers. Had our Doctor made more uſe of *Lorenzo Bellini* than he has done of *Matteo Villani*, he could not have fallen into Errors ſo contrary to Experience, and a very good Theory. Can any Man read Dr. *Mead*'s Diſcourſe, and believe, from that, his ever having practiſed in a Fever. It is very certain, that he cannot properly be ſaid to have cured any one of a Fever: Tho' his *Setters* are not only ready to cover all Miſcarriages, but to draw in more innocent People to the moſt eminent Hazard of their Lives.

I conſidered the ſtrange and uncouth Expreſſion of the Blood throwing off theſe active Particles upon Glands. Upon which Account, I ſaid, the Doctor did not ſeem to underſtand any thing of Secretions; and throwing them upon Glands, did not give us any favourable Opinion of our Doctor's underſtandiag Anatomy; more particularly, why upon the Glands of the Mouth?

My *Remarker* has this quick Obſervation about my queſtioning his Maſter's Skill in Anatomy. This Expreſſion does not give

give us any favourable Opinion, &c. My *Remarker* very honeſtly adds, viz. *Gland of the Skin*; and then anſwers to his own Forgery. *Why not? are there no Glands of the Skin? do not Anatomiſts call all Parts, framed to ſeparate ſomething from the Blood, by the Name of Glands?* But we find this is only anſwering himſelf; for the *Skin* is not mentioned till afterwards, that his Maſter is ask't another Queſtion about *Secretion*. My *Remarker* is far gone in propagating Untruths. And his laſt Queſtion ſhews that neither *Maſter* nor *Champion* are tolerably acquainted with Anatomy; for it is very certain, that there is a very conſiderable Secretion made; and that without a *Gland*. Had he underſtood the Doctrine of Secretions, he met with in a Book of a *Looſeneſs*, his Admiration ſhould ſoon have ceaſed; that *Secretions* may be without Glands, tho' they moſt commonly are performed by the Means of *Glands*: And therefore it is evident, that Dr. *Mead* and his Champion, *Remarker*, have not got the Length of *Galen* in the Doctrine of *Glands* and *Secretions*.

I ask'd my *celebrated Doctor*, why the Blood threw its active Particles upon the Glands of the Mouth more particularly; I ſaid, that this Obſervation was not of any Uſe in this Place; however ſerviceable it might be, when he treated the *Slabbering* of a *Mad-Dog*; and therefore this Obſervation

on is drawn out of his Book of Poiſons to no manner of Purpoſe. Nay, it had been more to his Honour to have buried this Philoſophy, in that feeble Performance.

My *Remarker* excells himſelf in his Anſwer. *This*, ſays he, *is of great Uſe; for the noxious Particles being diſcharged into the Mouth, the Air, every time the ſick Perſon expirates* (a fine Word) *will be tainted with them.* A very great uſe indeed: But for what? Is it ſo very uſeful to taint the Air? Or does my Remarker imagine *Slabbering* any Symptom of the Plague. And if neither of theſe are truly Uſes, I think, my *Remarker*, and his *Maſter*, ought each of them to be provided with a Slabbering-Bibb. Let us note here, that my *Remarker* gives up the Conſtancy of *Secretions* at the *Skin* and *Mouth*, and his Maſter together.

However terrible theſe active Particles are repreſented; yet our great Comfort is, that theſe *Peſtilential* Steams or *Effluvia are ſoon diſperſed and loſt*; and at beſt *infect thoſe* only *who are near the ſick Perſon*, when *the Air is in a right State.* But when an ill Diſpoſition of the Air and theſe infected Effluvia meet together, then they work powerfully, and may be carried, God knows how far, ſays our celebrated Doctor.

The firſt of theſe Suppoſitions gives us no manner of Uneaſineſs; and the ſecond is ſo

contrary to all the Laws of moving Bodies, that it is altogether falſe; and conſequently does not affect our Fears. And therefore theſe Bugbears of *malignant Fevers* and *peſtilential* ones, ſcattering and throwing about active Particles on all the Glands of the Body, againſt all Senſe and Experience, ſerve no purpoſe at all to Contagion; and that becauſe our Doctor aſſures us, there is no Harm to be taken in one Caſe; and we have certain Experience againſt the laſt.

As this Account has all along carried a great Air of Legerdemaine; ſo we are now plainly told, that it is not every one, that is fitted for underſtanding theſe high Myſteries. They only can arrive at any tolerable Knowledge in thoſe Matters, *who know what ſtrange* Attractions *and* Combinations *are made by volatile Spirits.* What a Pity is it now, that my *Remarker* has ſurrender'd ſo uſeful Tools, as theſe volatile Spirits are; for thereby he has loſt one Half of his Maſter's Story, becauſe the *Attraction* of all the Parts of the ſame Body are of no Conſideration at this Time. Beſides, *Attraction* did not appear to me ſufficient, to explain a Phænomenon ſo manifeſtly oppoſite to all the known Laws of Motion: And therefore I did take the Liberty to inquire a little (too merrily as it ſeems) after that kind of *Attraction* our celebrated Author thought beſt for this purpoſe; becauſe I was willing to

be

be initiated in the uſeful Myſtery. But this, I find, gives great Offence to my Remarker.

I ſaid, there was old *Attraction*, Son of *Ariſtotle*; and there is young *Attraction*, the great *Geometrician*; and a Counterfeit of this, in the Works of the Celebrated Doctor *Anodyne Necklace*; which laſt is as like *Attraction* before us, as the two Doctors are like one another. My *Remarker* turns upon me very briskly, in Defence of the laſt Article, with h. e. *not at all.* Does he think, the *Diſſimilitude* is in the *Men* or their *Attractions.* Not the firſt ſurely; for then our Doctor would have talked of his Attraction with a Meaning; becauſe *Anodyne Necklace* talks without Meaning: And yet if we conſult his Book recommending his *Necklace*, you will find him more *Knave* than *Fool*, all his Cant being more artfully told, than any thing in our Doctor's Book; and by it he has *attracted* more Gold than he too; and we all know, that this is the principal End of both their Attractions; the great Name of the Philoſopher being leſs valued by them, than his Attraction.

I ſaid Doctor *Anodyne Necklace*'s *Attraction* was a ſpurious brat of the Geometrician's; and if this is Orthodox, and the others Counterfeits, where does there any Reflexion lie upon the great Philoſopher? If any Reflection is made againſt that venerable Perſon,

it proceeds from Dr. *Mead* and his Friends; and he is too great a Philoſopher, to ſuffer a Fool's-Cap to be put on his Head. He knows, that I am the laſt Man, that would attempt it, he being conſcious of the great Eſteem I have for him. There is no kind of Hypotheſis, that will not yield Inſtruction in the Hands of our Philoſopher; and the better it is, the ſooner it will be counterfeited.

But if Doctor *Mead* had any Meaning in his Attraction more than to ſtun Mankind with a hard Word, it ought to have been made very plain; and that, becauſe the great Streſs of *peſtilential Contagion* reſts upon it. The volatile active particles of *Putrefaction* (as my Doctor ſpeaks) as well as of thoſe of *malignant* and *peſtilential* Fevers muſt be *attracted* by Air, by our Steams; and by them conveyed to our Blood, in order to breed Infection; which is more than our Doctor imagines, and more than he has proved? In ſhort, He has left the ſtrange *Feats* of *Attraction* to any Body that underſtands, or is pleaſed to ſay they do underſtand it. As for *Combination*, (another enchanting Word of our Doctor) I own my Incapacity in knowing any thing about it in this Place.

Thus have I wreſtled through much *Philoſophy*, a great deal of *Chymiſtry* and ſome *Phyſick* in Search of *Contagion*. Nor have we neglected

neglected *Mathematick* Philoſophy in this our Inquiry; but all in vain. Perhaps my Readers may know more than I do, if I draw up, in ſhort, what has been ſaid thus diffuſedly, and therefore, for their Service as well as my own. I will recapitulate the Subſtance of it.

When we took leave of *Contagion*, we were told we might fiſh it out in our Doctor's Diſcourſe. So he told us, that this unknown Contagion might be propagated, or ſpread, by Air. Strange, that a thing of no Exiſtence ſhould be propagated. However, this he proves from *Hippocrates*; who ſays, that *Heats* attended by much *Rain* and *Southerly Winds*, make *peſtilential Fevers*. And is not this a plain Proof, that Plagues are not *made*, but *propagated*, by Air.

After our Doctor has taken in ſome more *Plague-Makers*, or Journymen of that Trade, he draws a moſt irrefragable Conſequence; that becauſe *Southerly Winds* are a *concurrent Cauſe* (as our Doctor ſpeaks) therefore in order to produce *Putrefaction* (the Eſſence of the Plague to his thinking) the *Southerly Winds* muſt firſt produce no Wind at all, or a *Stagnation* in the Air.

This *Putrefaction*, with which we have no great Acquaintance, is like ſomething we know better; and that is *Fermentation*; and as *Fermentation* plays a thouſand Tricks, which

which ſhall now be nameleſs on my *Remarker's* Account; becauſe they put him almoſt into Fits. Among others, Liquors in a Ferment Bounſe and emit active Particles: And as this is done by Fermentation, ſo muſt *Putrefaction* do to be ſure. When this has been finely illuſtrated in the Caſe of malignant Fevers, againſt all Senſe and Reaſon (that being a great Digreſſion) why then *active Particles* are emitted and flung about, when the Fever is ending: But, what is very unlucky, go no great Length, if they are not received, and kindly conducted in the World by perſpicuous *Attraction*, that *great Principle of natural Operations, ſupported upon undeniable Evidence*; as my faithful *Remarker* informs us.

This is a full and true Account of *Contagion*, propagated by Air; which I willingly, and with great Pleaſure leave in the Hands of every Reader: And I deſire him to make the beſt of it. Let him try, if *Contagion* now does not put him under ſuch *Fears*, that he would wiſh his *Houſes* burn'd; our *Trade* demoliſh'd; and his neareſt Kindred in *Peſt-Houſes*, to deliver him from the Terror of taking a Plague from either of them upon ſo *juſt*, ſo *clear*, and ſuch an *undeniable* Doctrine, as *peſtilential Contagion*: Tho' this is more than Dr. *Mead* has ſhewn us.

We

We have no Doubts left about the Weakneſs of our Dr's Scheme, nor of his Manner of Reaſoning; yet as he brings an Objection againſt his own Opinions; let us have a Trial of his Skill in ſupporting what has been, formerly, ſo *precariouſly* advanced: For if his *volatile, active Particles* can find an eaſy admittance every where, and that nothing can withſtand their deſtroying Power; in what a miſerable and unavoidable State of Death is Mankind ſettled.

In order to avoid the Strength of this Objection; he is pleaſed to declare, *that a corrupted State of Air is*, without doubt, *neceſſary to give theſe contagious Atoms their full Force; for otherwiſe it were not eaſy to conceive, how the Plague* ſhould ever ceaſe, and when once it has begun in any Place: *Which is readily accounted for, by ſuppoſing an Emendation of the Qualities of the Air, and the reſtoring it to a healthy State, capable of diſſipating and ſuppreſſing the Malignity.*

Here begins the old Game of begging the Queſtion; which is not ſufficient neither, unleſs we grant our Doctor a *Suppoſition*, that carries off every Difficulty at once; tho' it had been more to his Purpoſe, to have made uſe of any other Suppoſition (for ſtopping up the Magazine of Poiſon) than one that makes him obliged, to a *Change* in *Air*. But, in the next Place; this Me-

thod

thod of his, in getting the better of his Objection, ruins all the former Account; where the greateſt Uſe he had for Air, was, that it had ſometimes a greater *Diſpoſition* of entertaining *Contagion* than at others: Whereas in this place the Air is a Coadjutor of the Plague; one Cauſe of the Plague acting with vigour. Not only ſo, but the *malignant* Particles do not act, when any Emendation comes to the Air. And therefore the Changes of Air from better to worſe, *invigorating* a Plague at leaſt; and its changing again from worſe to better taking off the Force of the Plague; the Air is plainly a principal Agent, or *Cauſe* in making and unmaking a Plague; which is a great Abſurdity in Dr. *Mead*'s Account of the Plague. He has truly brought himſelf into this *Dilemma*. The *Plague* is made by foreign *Contagion*, or by *Air*. Not the firſt; becauſe it would never ceaſe, after it begins in any Place, as long as there is one Man left alive: Which, bleſſed be God for it, is contrary to Experience, and Dr. *Mead*: not the laſt; Becauſe there is an End of all *Contagion*; the Foreign eſpecially. My Remarker would elude the Horns of this *Dilemma*, by telling us, *Has Dr.* Mead *uſed one Word to prove the Air uncorrupted in the time of the Plague? Has he not aſſerted, that the Corruption of the Air is one Step towards Contagion?* But this is no more an Anſwer than that Dr. *Mead* cures a Diſeaſe, by promi-

promiſing Health in the Houſes of the Sick, and ſpreads abroad their irrecoverable Condition at the ſame time by my *Remarker*, and his other *Setters*. He may truly be ſaid to take Care of himſelf, tho' not of his Patients.

I ſay, this kind of Argument is a Proviſion of the ſame kind, how to blind Mens Reaſon; but not how to ſolve their Difficulties. For if we may gueſs at his Meaning, the Air is of ſo little Uſe, that it contributes no more to Infection, than a Coach does to a Man in his Journey; to perform it more eaſily: And yet it is here a Cauſe, or elſe it could neither ſtrengthen the Plague, nor remove it; as it is ſuppoſed to do in the Caſe before us. The *Putridneſs* of Air, or its not being putrid, are only made uſe of to get rid of an Argument, but not to clear it. Thus we are left to diſpute about Dr. *Mead*'s Meaning, as his Patients are about the State of their Life: Arguments are given on both Sides, and thus he provides an Eſcape; as we may ſee by his Phraſes about Air.

He tells us that * Contagion is propagated by Air. Here the Air is pure, becauſe it is joyned with Nothing; and Air, with nothing, is Air as it was before their meeting.

* page 2, 3, 6, 9.

He tells us again, what *Hippocrates* ſaid of a Seaſon, that preceded the Plague, but then it only *brings* it, but does nothing as a *Cauſe*.

Again, Air mends *Contagion*, when brought hither from abroad. In that Caſe it muſt be very uncorrupted.

Yet Air has a greater Diſpoſition of receiving Contagion at one time than another. The very Reaſon aſſigned how our Air came to admit the Plague in 1665. At this time a corrupted State of Air is, *without Doubt, neceſſary*.

Yet in the very next Paragraph it becomes evident, that Infection is not received from the Air itſelf, however prediſpoſed; without the Concurrence of ſomething emitted from the infected Perſon. This laſt Article ſhall forthwith be conſider'd. Now if Dr. *Mead*'s Aſſertion availed any thing, we ſhould never be able to know what made or unmade a Plague; as long as he has theſe beautiful Arms at Command: or that his *Setters*, like the Squires of *Alſatia*, knock down all Inquiries with Doctor *Mead*'s Word and Orders. And therefore it is now very plain, that the Argument remains in full Force.

I obſerved he ſaid, in this Collection of warlike Stores, *That Infection is not received without*

without the Concurrence of ſomethings emitted from infected Perſons ; becauſe, by ſtrictly preventing all Intercourſe of infected Places with the Neighbourhood, it may be effectually kept from ſpreading. Now in this Account *one* Man, at leaſt, is firſt infected, pray now, how is he infected? And is there only a Doſe for one Man, and not for two Men, or two thouſand Men. I do not put this Queſtion in *England* ; but in *Cairo*, in *Æthiopia*, or where he pleaſes : And when I have an Anſwer to this Queſtion, I may anſwer a great many more. But our Doctor has ſurely loſt all Senſe of Shame, when he promiſes with the greateſt Aſſurance, an infallible Method of preventing the Plague coming among us : And that after it had ſo infallibly proved no Means at all. He refers us for the Confirmation of his Aſſertion to what is done in *France* ; but we all know with great Concern the State of that miſerable People.

I will only add an infallible Argument of the ill Succeſs of the cruel Methods taken in *France*, and what our Doctor calls infallibly ſucceſsful : For we have it in the *French* News, That *the Extraordinary Council of Health, appointed by the Regent, meets thrice or four times a Week, and have taken the Advice of the moſt noted Phyſicians of this City, about the moſt proper Means for* preventing *the ſpreading of the Plague ; ſince* Lines,

Intrenchements, *and other usual Precautions cannot do it.*

This is not one single Man, but a Number of Men in Council, and after Experience made; that have declared all these Methods of Entrenchments and Lines unsuccessful. And therefore my Remarker has given up this Argument, and in Reality the whole weighty Matter of *Lazarettos*. For if this does not hold, then the Infection is received without the Concurrence of somethings, emitted from infected Persons; and that is true by Dr. *Mead*'s Argument.

This is a most unlucky Concession at this Time, when we are to learn *the Way, by which a sound Person receives the Injury*; which our Doctor SUPPOSES *most commonly to be this.*

But as this Manner of arguing is very disagreeable, and carries nothing of Force or Persuasion along with it, I took the Liberty to show the Falseness of his Suppositions by Matters of Fact. At Page 12, the Strength of his Cause depended on an Argument; and the Strength of it, consisted in *the next Step, as it seems to me, proceeds after this Manner*; then follows a ridiculous *Tale*. And now he *supposes* this the most common Way the Injury is received. But as his dainty Conceit about the *Vomitio Inanis*, and Spittle, have been sufficiently exposed,

and

and are truely given up by Mr. *Remarker*; I will now proceed in my plainer Method, and anſwer his Cavils.

When our Doctor alleges that the *peſtilent Infection*, which he imagines to be flying about in the Air, excites a *Nauſea* and *Reaching* to vomit, when it has got into the *Stomach*; he affirms a Fact contrary to the moſt obvious Experience: For the *Nauſea* never happens among the firſt Symptoms of the Plague, nor till it has made a great Progreſs upon the ſick Perſon, and has made head againſt the Sick. Had Dr. *Mead* any tolerable Knowledge of *Bellini*'s beſt *Theory* of *Fevers*, he could not have fallen into this Error, becauſe * *Bellini* accounts for the *Nauſea* as an Error and Defect of a ſecreted Liquor in the Stomach from the Blood; but never dreams of its being occaſioned by any *active* Particle *flying* about in great Plenty in Times of Peſtilence, and lodging it ſelf in the Stomach, and thereby provoking the *Reaching* to vomit.

I began this Argument with ſome real Comfort to Mankind, and averr'd that it might be demonſtrated, *from the Nature of the Plague, that it is never, or very rarely, communicated from one Perſon to another.* But my modeſt Remarker calls this an *Abſurdity*: And why? *For, were it Fact, it were impoſſible to demonſtrate it from any thing yet known*

* Prop. 21. pag. 326. *Bononiæ.*

known to Mankind of the Nature of the Diſeaſe.

Is not this an admirable Argument: As to the Fact, that I ſhall quickly prove; and as to the Impoſſibility of the Proof, that is only to him impoſſible; for I ſay it is very poſſible, that I can do it; and that, becauſe we know more of the Plague by Books of Phyſick, than we do of a great many other Diſtempers. Reflect a little, what is done here, ſince we begun this Diſpute; and conſider, how many Impoſſibilities of this kind, in the Opinion of Great Phyſicians, have been ſhewn *demonſtratively*, plain Truths by the Perſon you take me to be: And then conſider your civil Objection; it is *abſurd*, becauſe you know nothing of the Matter. A very clear Proof.

The Proof of the Fact I took from Mr. *Graunt*'s Bills of Mortality; and it is Capt. *Graunt*'s own Obſervation; which is ſo juſt, that it is in its kind a Demonſtration. He tells us, that the * Plague in 1636 laſted 12 Years: In eight whereof there died 2000 per Ann. one with another; and never under 800. The which ſhews, That the Contagion of the Plague *depends* more upon the *Diſpoſition* of the Air, than upon the *Effluvia from the Bodies of Men.* Here ſtops my worthy Remarker with a conſpicuous *Effluvia*, and very artfully ſtifles the Proof, by con-

* Pag. 70.

concealing the Argument from the Reader. The Strength of his *Effluvia* has already been proved, and I will forthwith prove them uſeleſs. But to reſtore the diſmember'd Reaſoning, Capt. *Graunt* proceeds. *Which alſo we prove by the ſudden Jumps which the Plague hath made, leaping in one Week from* 118 *to* 927; *and from thence again, the very next Week to* 852. *The which Effects muſt ſurely be rather attributed to Change of the Air, than of the Conſtitutions of Mens Bodies.*

This is truly a Demonſtration, and every Body that underſtands the Manner of Captain *Graunt*'s Reaſoning, muſt acquieſce in the Truth of it. The Senſe of it is this; the Captain is inquiring whether the *Steams* coming out of our Bodies, or Air, are the principal Cauſes of ſpreading the Plague; which he determins, by the foregoing Argument, in favour of the *Air*; for every Body knows how changeable the Air is; which by its different Changes from better to worſe, can ſpeedily make the Plague more grievous and general. On the other Hand, its Changes from a worſe to a better Conſtitution can make the Plague more gentle and leſs diffuſed: Which ſpeedy Changes of Air are the Cauſes of the Jumps we find the Plague often makes, while it rages and is doing the greateſt Miſchief.

Whereas

Whereas did the Plague proceed in any Proportion, whether orderly or disturbed, it should never march in those irregular Jumps we find it makes, could these extreme Jumps be made in a little time; as we likewise observe the Jumps of the Plague.

Mr. *Remarker* having laid his Hands upon this best part of Captain *Graunt's* Argument, plainly gives up Dr. *Mead's* Hypothesis, when we restore it; and very simply makes this Answer, *that Capt.* Graunt *only shews the Concurrence of some ill Quality; necessary according to Dr.* Mead's *Opinion.* But, as is already shewn, Dr. *Mead* has no Opinion of his own, nor espouses that of any other Physician, at this time: And Captain *Graunt* has determined against Dr. *Mead.* And therefore *Contagion* (as they call it) *is never propagated, or conveyed from the Body of one Man into that of another.*

This Conclusion may seem strange and extraordinary to some Readers, though in it self it be demonstrative. But for easing the Apprehensions of any such Reader, I will give them a Proof and an Experiment or two, which shall render this extraordinary Conclusion very easy and familiar to the meanest Understanding.

The *Proofs* are, that we do not find any *Putrefaction* or *Corruption* brought into, or made in our Blood; and that the Blood it self

ſelf has not in it, cannot poſſibly be propagated by Contagion. Moreover; we find, that our Steams do not convey any thing pernicious to any other Perſon, and conſequently, that they never are the Cauſe of the Plague.

The Experiments for evincing the Truth of the firſt Obſervation, are drawn from that great Store of excellent Experiments the Journal of the Plague at *Marſeilles*.

In it we find, what is thought unaccountable, that * *thoſe who have ſhut themſelves up moſt ſecurely, in their own Houſes, and are the moſt careful to take in nothing, without the moſt exact Precautions, are attacked there by the Plague; which creeps in no Body knows how.*

A little afterwards; † *Forty two* Capuchins *have already periſhed, Twenty one* Jeſuits, *Thirty two Obſervantins, Twenty nine Recollets, Ten Barefooted Carmelites, Twenty two Reformed Auguſtines, all the Grand Carmelites, the Grand Trinitarians, the Reformed Trinitarians, the Monks of Loretto, of Mercy, the Dominicans and Grand Auguſtins, who kept in their Convent; beſides ſeveral Prieſts, and the greateſt Part of the Vicars of Chapters and Pariſhes.*

* pag. 41. † 42.

On the other Hand, ſo little do the Phyſicians and Sheriffs in *Marſeilles* apprehend any Danger from converſing with the Sick, or by being about them; that * *the Marquis de* Pilles, *and the Sheriffs, think only of preſerving the Life and Health of others*, expoſing their *own without any Concern.* Nay; *the Marquis de* Pilles *has ſo little Regard for himſelf, that at the firſt he lets the principle Peſt-Houſe* (*des Convaleſcens*) *be ſettled within four Paces of his own Houſe.* And therefore it is very manifeſt, that the Plague is cauſed by the Air, ſince theſe *Religious* may be ſuppoſed as truly ſecluded from the World, as human Art, or human Fears could contrive.

The Experiments proving, that the Plague is not conveyed by human *Subſtances*, and far leſs by their *Effluvia*, are as plain and undiſputable as the former; theſe Experiments not admiting the Poſſibility of doubting of their being made in the moſt exact, and moſt perfect Circumſtances. But to be as ſhort as poſſible, I will omit Numbers of Experiments (better every one of them, than ever were brought for proving the paſſing of the *Plague* by *Contagion*) ſuch as are taken from the Dreſſings of Surgeons, taken from the *Plague-Sores*, the Impunity of People, raſhly being a Bed with a Perſon who dies of the Plague: Contenting my

* page 30.

my ſelf with one Example of above a thouſand Experiments; which is taken from the fore-mentioned excellent Record, the Journals of the Plague at *Marſeilles*. We are told of * *many Women, who ſuckled Children, die of the Contagion; and the Infants are found crying in their Cradles, when the Bodies of the* Mothers *or Nurſes are taken away; no Body will receive thoſe Children, much leſs ſuckle, or feed them.* —— *The Sheriffs take the Hoſpital of St.* James *of* Galicia: —— —— *and there Care is taken to feed them with Spoon-meat, or by holding them to Goats to ſuck.* The Number of them is ſo great, that tho' 30 or 40 *die in a Day; there are always* 12 *or* 1300, *by the Addition of thoſe who are brought in ſucceſſively every Day.*

Arguments drawn from the Examples of theſe Innocents are irrefragable. What is a *Steam* (the thouſandth Part of one Drop, thrown no great Length in the *Air*, and ſcarcely poſſible to be received into the Body of other Perſons) to the *Subſtance* of theſe Nurſes immediately conveyed, *warm* and *unchanged*, into their Children; yet, the fourtieth of them only die; and *manifeſtly* for want of neceſſary Support. Can it therefore be imagined, that the *Infection* of the Plague can poſſibly be ſo deſtructive, as the Fears of ſome, and the *Artifice* of others have repreſented it. Theſe Inſtances

* page 24.

do not only make it eaſy for us to comply with Capt. *Graunt*'s Demonſtration; but are in themſelves ſo obvious, as to bring us to his Concluſion by mere *Induction*. It muſt therefore be confeſſed, that the *Infection* of the Plague is not conveyed into the Body of another Perſon; or, that the Plague is not a *contagious* Diſeaſe.

I might add ſome Experiments made by Dr. *Deidier* *, *King's Phyſician, and Profeſſor of Medicine in the Univerſity of* Montpelier, made at *Marſeilles*, and publiſh'd at *Montpelier*, confirming this matter, and carrying it ſome farther Length; but what I have now brought, are ſufficient to convince any Perſon; even our Doctor himſelf.

The laſt of his Cauſes that propagate Contagion (in his ſingular Language) are Goods and Merchandize *tranſported from infected Places*. The Doctor values himſelf much for his giving a diſtinct Account of this propagating Article; and having rejected the Reaſons brought from *Kircher* and others, becauſe they are *Suppoſitions grounded upon no manner of Obſervation*; and on that Account he has no *Recourſe* to them, his Argument being quite the Reverſe of the former cannot fail of giving us compleat Satisfaction. *If* (ſays our illuminated Doctor) *as we have* conjectured, *the Matter of Contagion be an active Subſtance*, perhaps *in the Na-*

* Journal des Scavans Octob. pag. 464.

Nature of a Salt, it is not hard to conceive, &c. Now, there being *Conjectures*, *if*, and *perhapses* for the Ground-Work of this Proof, every Body muſt be ſatisfied, that it is firm, and undeniable, ſufficient to warrant the moſt rigorous Quarantine, *Merchants* and their *Goods* can be laid under.

But as I have already ſhewn, in my Explanation, that there is not an Experiment for the Infection of the Plague being conveyed by Goods (which has been given up to me by my Remarker), and that I intend in a full Diſcourſe to ſhew the *Folly* and *Novelty* of this Opinion, that *Goods* are as *Fomes* for pickling up the Plague, in order to carry it into far diſtant Countries, I beg my Reader's Patience for a little Time, and I hope he will find his Loſs of Time ſufficiently recompenſed.

In the mean time we muſt obſerve, that, as *Contagion* and *Peſtilence* have never yet met together in our Doctor's artful Diſcourſe; ſo *peſtilential Contagion* is wholly neglected; and with this Neglect *the principal Ground, upon which all Cautions to keep out the Plague, are founded*; which are the Words, and muſt be the Confeſſion of my judicious Remarker, Dr. *Mead*'s choſen Champion.

Our Doctor, on the other hand, would make us believe, *That it appears very plainly*

ly, that the Plague is a real Poiſon. That it is *maintained by Circulating from infected Perſons to Goods:* And I hope back again from them to infected Perſons, or the Circulation will be ſpoil'd; the Fancy of it at leaſt.

Whether our Doctor has proved the Plague a Poiſon or not, or deſigned to prove it one, is more than I know, and I leave it to his or my Readers, to find it out, tho' it had not been a contagious Diſeaſe, if he did intend to prove it a Poiſon; and that becauſe Phyſicians ſpeak otherwiſe, as we found in the Beginning of this Diſcourſe. They that would ſee more of this fine Conceit of a *Plague* dancing in a *Circulatory Veſſel*, a *Pelecane*, or any other, may repair to *Platerus*, the firſt Inventor of this Scheme; but a pure Analogy between this Round, and that of the Chymiſts circulating their Liquors.

PART II.

WE have now arrived at Dr. *Mead's* Methods for *preventing peſtilential Contagion*, as he ſpeaks. It was on this Account, we have hunted after Contagion; that knowing ſomewhat of its *Nature*, and the *different* Ways it attacks us, we might *Arm*, and be upon our *Guard*, to *defend* our ſelves againſt ſo terrible an *Enemy*. As ſoon then, as there is an Appearance of any Signs of a *Peſti-*

Peſtilent-Fever, we muſt with all Speed, cut off and demoliſh its efficient Cauſe.

But if we look back upon our Doctor's Performance, we diſcover nothing of the *Peſtilence*, nothing of its being *contagious*; and far leſs any thing of the *Cauſe* of a *Peſtilence*. In ſhort, we are at this Time as ignorant of peſtilential Infection, as when we firſt begun our Inquiry. Our *Doctor*, and our other *Brethren*, that taught our *Senators* Wiſdom, freely confeſs their *Ignorance* of the *Plague*, when at the ſame time they preſcribed a Method of keeping it from us; or, in plain Engliſh, they told them *ſomething* that was very *good*, for they *know not what*.

However, as I am now bound to examine Dr. *Mead*'s Book; I will proceed in the ſame Method I took in the former Part. I will conſider, what D. *Mead* has ſaid; and as his Opinions give little Satisfaction, I will proceed upon the Concluſions we have made lately, and endeavour to diſcover the Propriety and Uſefulneſs of the Practices that have been long in the World; ſome of which are offered in Dr. *Mead*'s ſecond Part that falls, at preſent, under our Conſideration.

Firſt then we found, that the *Plague* is a *Fever*; which Plague or Fever is produced from ſome *Fault* of the Air, or from *ill* and *unwholeſome Diet*; for we have already diſcovered,

covered, that it is not bred on any other Account. And therefore whatever is proper to *prevent* a Plague, muſt overcome one of theſe two Cauſes. Both of theſe Methods have, at ſundry times, proved very ſucceſsful. We ſhall quickly have Occaſion, in the Courſe of our Author, to conſider the firſt; and the Practiſes, ariſing from the laſt, have been found very powerful in different Countries, and in different Plagues; tho' every Conſideration of this kind is omitted by our Doctor.

Inſtead of theſe rational Deductions we owe to my Method in examining Dr. *Mead*'s Diſcourſe, he tells us his Precautions conſiſt in *preventing its* (the Plague) *being brought into our Iſland.* His other Means, is how to *put a Stop to its ſpreading among us.* He thinks, the firſt is ſufficiently *provided for, by obliging Ships, that come from infected Places, to perform Quarentine.* He, afterwards, relates Rules for *Lazarets*, and Peſt-Houſes, and of the Diſcipline to be followed in them.

But as *Lazarets*, and *Peſt-Houſes*, as they have been employed of late, were of little Uſe, ſince the Knowledg of Phyſick in the World; ſo the late Succeſſes of them do not recommend them ſo effectually to us, as to change the ſafe and ancient Practice of the World in Times of Peſtilence; Experience therefore cryes loud againſt this modern Practice.

And

And, as the Plague may be *brought* and propagated by Air (in Dr. *Mead*'s Opinion) what Defence can *Leper-Houſes* and *Peſt-Houſes* prove in keeping the Plague out of the Country. We may as well build a Wall, to keep out Larks, as *Barracks*, to keep out Plagues. Beſides, it has been ſhewn, that the Plague does not paſs from one Man into another; and I will prove, that it is not conveyed by *Merchandize* or any other *Goods*; and therefore, that *Lazarets* and *Peſt-Houſes* may be well employed, but are altogether uſeleſs in the Service, for which they are propoſed on this Occaſion.

Hereafter I will ſhew, what Uſe we made of *Leper-Houſes* in *England*. But the moſt proper Uſe they were put to, abroad, was in Conſequence and Conſideration of the Plague being cauſed by ill *Corn*, and other *unwholeſome* Diet. On ſuch Occaſions, as the Poor chiefly ſuffer, ſo the Civil Magiſtrate removed all their Poor (that could not provide for themſelves) into *Leper-Houſes*, without the Town, and ſupported them at the Charge of the Publick. This Practice was not only founded on the reaſonable Opinions of Phyſicians, but it had Succeſs anſwerable to theſe reaſonable Grounds. This Practice was wonderfully beneficial in a *Plague* of *Venice*, as *Sabellicus* * informs us. The like Practice was found very uſeful,

* Lib. 3. Decad. 4. Rerum Venetarum.

lately, in *Millan*, ſays the moſt learned *Mercurialis* *. And this removing the Poor into *Lazarets*, for their more comfortable *Support*, was the moſt ancient Cuſtom in *France*; and from them the wiſe *Italian* Princes ſeem to have taken this wholſome Practice. The *French* never ſwerv'd from this uſeful Cuſtom, till the preſent Plague; and now we find their *Succeſs* as *unhappy*, as their Experiment is *ſingular* and *unprecedented*. Inſomuch, that *no neighbouring Nation hath any Encouragement from thence, to follow ſo fatal an Example.*

It were eaſy to determine, about parting the *Sick* from the Sound; as alſo to give the Hiſtory of the Succeſs this Separation has had in former times: But this Performance can only be duely conſider'd after a thorow Inquiry into the Plague it ſelf. It is very certain, that the fore-mentioned Gentlemen are as ignorant of the Practice of the World in this Particular, and of its Succeſs, as they are, when they declare their Ignorance of a *Plague*, h. e. a Fever. We may therefore put an End to this Conſideration, in the Words of the *Paris* Article in the *Poſt-man*, *Aug.* 26.

The extraordinary Council of Health appointed by the Regent, meets thrice or four times a Week, and have taken the Advice of the moſt noted

* Cap. 20. de Peſte.

noted Phyſicians in this City, about the moſt proper Means for preventing the Spreading of the Plague; ſince Lines, Intrenchments, *and other uſual Precautions*, cannot do it.

Is it proper, then, for us, to make Experiments of this *French* Diſcipline, after this Complaint of their ill Succeſs? On the other hand, none of theſe Methods were made Uſe of in our Plague in 1665, yet it did not ſpread itſelf into the remote Parts of the Kingdom; nor did the City of *London*, where it firſt appear'd, ſuffer ſo long, or ſo much, in Proportion to the Number of its Inhabitants, as other Cities and Towns in *France* have ſuffer'd; where theſe *cruel* Experiments have been try'd.

My *Remarker*, p. 29. has this excellent Anſwer, *It* (the *French* Experiment) *does not then appear to have been hurtful.* It appears, that they wanted to be rid of it, however innocent my *Remarker*, or *any* of his Friends may proclaim it; and on that Account would have us prove, how it will hold here. But Dr. *Mead* tells us, about ſhuting up the Houſes, that *nothing can juſtify ſuch Cruelty, but the Plea, that it is for the Good of the whole Community.* Now if theſe *Lines* and *Intrenchments* in *France* have been uſeleſs, for keeping the Plague from ſpreading, as my Remarker muſt own they have; and conſequently have not been for the *Good of the Community*, they thought it high

Time to leave them off; and we ought not to think it our Turn to begin them.

It may not be improper to recite the *Cruelties* our Doctor mentioned: And let us consider, whether these at *Marseilles* were milder; for if his are unjustifiable, but merely upon the Account of a Common Good, these will admit of no Manner of Excuse, and even of Forgiveness of them, who are the Authors and Instruments of so great Cruelty.

It is not easy to conceive, says Dr. *Mead*, *a more dismal Scene of Misery, than this; Families seized with a Distemper, which the most of any in the World requires Help and Comfort, lockt up from all their Acquaintance; left it may be to the Treatment of an inhuman Nurse (for such are often found at these Times about the Sick) and Strangers to every thing, but the melancholly Sight of the Progress Death makes among themselves; with small Hopes of Life, and those mixed with Anxiety and Doubt, whether it be not better to die, than to survive the Loss of their best Friends, and nearest Relations.*

But as this Misery is not a quarter of the Cruelty, that was felt at *Marseilles*, nor of what every Body must feel, that is put under these Methods; so *Society* it self becomes grievous under such cruel Regulations. Can any Man, besides Dr. *Mead*, read the

Journal

Journal of the Plague at Marſeilles, and refrain from *Tears*, while he runs over in Hiſtory leſs than the People felt in their Perſons. The *Rich* were diſperſed, and the *Poor* were left to *ſtarve*. So the *French* had no Hopes of Subſiſting, after they did eſcape the *Rage* of the Diſeaſe; and the Cruelties of their Governours were greater than thoſe of the Diſtemper.

And as theſe Means of *Lines* and *Intrenchments* could not prevent the *ſpreading* of the *Plague*, they were ſurely very uſeleſs, as my Remarker obſerves: But then they were far from being *innocent*; for they cauſed all theſe Calamities, recited in the fore-mentioned *Journal*, and muſt needs produce unſupportable Miſery, *wherever* theſe Practices are made uſe of.

I ſhould next proceed to Dr. *Mead*'s Conſiderations, when theſe infallible Methods, thro' *Miſcarriage* in the Publick Care, by the *Neglect* of Officers, or otherwiſe, *have ſuffer'd ſuch a Calamity to befall us*. Here our Doctor is in his own way an infallible Perſon. His Methods can never fail of Succeſs. His *Apothecaries*, and *Nurſes* are negligent, when his Remedies miſcarry. Now by proper Changes, we are promiſed infallible Means to keep out the Plague, and when it gets among us; we are told who are to blame for it.

He

He liberally charges the Management in former Times, and tells us *of other Measures that are to be taken; which I think* (says the Doctor) *should be of this Nature.* After this, would not any Body believe and expect something newer and better, than ever was practis'd before. But all this new and better Management ends with some vain and boasting Instructions for our *Constables* and Scavengers: But all of them practised in former Times here, and by Strangers abroad; as I formerly observ'd in my Explanation.

My *Remarker* has given up his Master accordingly, and we will now consider him, where he still is hard to surrender. He is, then, very zealous for burning of Goods; and very angry with *Mercurialis* for the History of that Experiment recorded by him: And because I charge Dr. *Mead* for recommending the Burning; as *unknowingly* as our Physicians had that detrimental Practice of shuting up Houses: *Mercurialis* after having given the fatal Event of shuting up Houses in the Time of a Plague, tells us, That *Burning infected Goods* had done great *Mischief* in a *Plague* in *Padua.* And therefore when our Doctor recommends the last of these Practices I observ'd, that he seems to know as little of what was done *abroad in former Times*, as he does of *Pestilential Contagion.*

For

For this my Remarker falls foul of the learned *Mercurialis*, and alleages, I ought not to have given him the Epithet of *Learned*, but that JUDICIOUS *had been more to the Purpoſe.* My Remarker will not find this Epithet make much for his Purpoſe, and *judicious*, the *faithful Mercurialis* (for all three very properly belong to him) ſhall be admitted: Let us now ſee the Conſequence. Why? Our Doctor is given up by his Champion; for his great Advice is now called very *doubtful*, tho' they would blemiſh the ſacred Aſhes of *Mercurialis*, for ſaying, that it had ill Succeſs above an hundred Years before Dr. *Mead* was born, and could not, for that Reaſon, mean to offend him.

Our Remarker draws us down to his Epithet of *Judicious*, becauſe his Purpoſe is to prove him injudicious; and as *ill a Voucher*, as the Marquis de *Pons* was formerly: Yet *Mercurialis* ſtands very unjuſtly araigned, and that on a double Account; firſt, becauſe a *Writer cannot be much applauded for his Judgment, who could think the ſetting an Opponent's Argument in the ſtrongeſt Light is making an Anſwer to it.* If this is Want of Judgment in *Mercurialis*; yet ſurely he was very *honeſt*, in ſo doing: And we may judge of the *Honeſty*, and Judgment of my Remarker, as well by his Actions, as by his preſent Declaration. And I will add,

that

that impoſing on Men's Underſtanding by wilfully miſleading them in Matters of Fact, is downright Knavery. And therefore *Mercurialis* is no farther *injudicious*, than that he is not a *Knave*. *Mercurialis* is neither *Knave*, nor *Fool*; and we ſhall next ſhew him to be a Perſon of *Judgment* as well as of *Learning*.

The great Argument urged againſt the learned *Mercurialis*, is, that if the *Air* is the *Cauſe* of the *Plague*, then the *Plague* ſhould be univerſal; and that becauſe the Air is a *continuous* Body. But *Mercurialis*, very juſtly, denies the Conſequence; and confirms his Argument by many Examples: So that it was incumbent on Mr. Remarker to make good this Conſequence, before he takes upon him, to charge *Mercurialis*, for not being *judicious*. If my Remarker underſtood the *Loop-hole* his Maſter prepared for his Eſcape by the Help of Air, and thereby would have ſaved his Hypotheſis of Contagion, he could not have been a Stranger to the Strength of this Argument of *Mercurialis*.

If it were poſſible, then, I would adviſe my *Remarker* to keep Meaſures with the moſt eminent Men of the Profeſſion of Phyſick. *Mercurialis* ought not to be blamed for any Bodies Ignorance: He told us, burning *Goods* had done great Miſchief; and he is a wiſe Man, that is ſo at another Man's Loſs: And therefore Dr. *Mead* ought not to have adviſed

viſed the Burning of *Goods*; and far leſs our *Houſes* with them, as he zealouſly recommends.

I hope the *Author* of the *Animal Oeconomy* will take the Complements, of this Sort, made him by Mr. Remarker, in the ſame good Humour, and with as little Concern, as do the Aſhes of the learned *Mercurialis*. As for my ſelf, I would no more be commended by Mr. *Remarker*, or his *Maſter*, than I would by *Jonathan Wyld*, or any of his Knights of the Poſt. I will not run any Parallel between *Mercurialis* and Dr. *Mead*: Let them only remember, that *Mercurialis* was ſent for to *Vienna*, to cure the Emperour *Maximilian* II; which he did with that Applauſe, that he return'd loaded with all Rewards of *Bounty* & *Honour*. Whereas our Doctor had the ſingular Fortune, to have two *Secretaries* of *State* lying dead at the ſame Time. Their Learning will not bear any Compariſon.

As my *Remarker* is now got into his Chair of Infallibility, he will expect ſome Anſwer to a Declaration about *Raymundus*, becauſe he pronounces with full Power: But I muſt tell him, that this ſhall be the laſt Wandring we muſt make, and then we will conſider his Maſter's laſt Article about *preventing* peſtilential Contagion. I had obſerved, that our Doctor loved to amuſe his Readers with idle Conceits, and then to perſuade them of his having made Steps *towards* Contagion;

and therefore, about this Time, resolving against making Fires; he not only takes up with a very singular *Blade*, called *Raymundus*, but translates him too. *Febres Pestilentes Ardentes sunt, & idcirco ab Aere fervido, & calente augentur.* Here my Remarker applauds this Punn of odd *Raymundus*; but adds, *Dr. Mead has not said, that any of his Sentiments are new, tho' many of them are so; but that his Practice has not been commonly used before.*

I agree with Mr. Remarker, that the only Novelty in his Master's Opinions and Practice, is the Corruptions of others. But Dr. *Mead* talks quite otherwise. He tells us, *the Management of former Times, neither answers the Purpose of discovering the Beginning of Infection, nor of putting a Stop to it, when discover'd; other Measures are certainly to be taken, which I think should be of this Nature.* And therefore my *Remarker* injudiciously gives up his Master.

But to leave fooling with my Remarker, and not to observe all his ridiculous *Quibbles*, *Forgeries*, and *Turns* of Honesty; we will return to a more serious Subject, and consider, how Dr. *Mead* proposes to guard us against *Pestilential Contagion*, by his *Method* of *Preventing*.

He tells us, that particular Persons may best defend themselves by having *the Humours*

of

of the Body put into ſuch a State, as not to be alterable *by the Matter of Infection.* But I obſerved, that this was not Phyſick, h. e. that any Perſon who ſpoke ſo, was a Stranger to the Nature and Conſtitution of Men; and therefore, that Dr. *Mead* is the firſt Phyſician that ſpoke after this Manner, and conſequently that he had never conſider'd a Man, either in *Health* or Sickneſs. But, ſays my Remarker, *If no Phyſician ever ſaid ſo, they ought to have thought ſo.* His Reaſon is admirable, and ſhews his great Skill in *Animal Oeconomy*; *for is there, I pray, any other certain Way of making a Perſon abſolutely ſecure againſt the Infection?* An excellent Queſtion: For may we not prevent the Plague or any other Diſeaſe, without doing it with *abſolute* Certainty? We find all the beſt Phyſicians thought the firſt very practicable; but every one will confeſs the laſt to be impoſſible. A Man born in Health into the World, would live for ever, if his Humours were *unalterable*, as my wiſe Remarker, and his Maſter, put it: And it is the End of Phyſick, to recover the Changes they take to Sickneſs. So that a Man born in Health, is ſubject to every Diſeaſe, tho' he be not born with any; and the ſame ſick Perſon may again be reſtored to perfect Health, without putting him in a better State, than when he was firſt born, without rendring his Humours *unalterable*, or him *immortal.* Did not I therefore very properly add, that if an Im-

poſſibility of this Nature was expected from the Faculty of Phyſick, I hope they would acknowledge and confeſs their Ignorance. But an Expectation of this Kind is much the ſame, as if the Government ſhould expect, that Phyſicians are to cure the Subjects of any any one Diſeaſe, ſo that they could never feel it hereafter. Mankind is more eaſy, tho' *Quacks* often promiſe ſo to do. So that Dr. *Mead* is highly to blame, to promiſe a Method of *Preventing*, which he now confeſſes impoſſible, h. e. that he knows nothing of; and next that he fails in giving the common Opinions, and received Declarations of the beſt Phyſicians in all Ages, about *Preventing*.

My *Remarker* objects to the Concluſion of *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, that as Diſeaſes take a Time, before they are bred, ſo Diſeaſes may be *prevented*, that their Conſequence does not hold; for it is poſſible, that the Cauſes are irreſiſtable. Upon this Suppoſition, Diſeaſes cannot be prevented; becauſe *ex Hypoth.* they cannot be prevented. But then my *Remarker* begs the Queſtion, and only proves according to Cuſtom, *Nothing*. But, all this is arguing againſt Experience, and ſhews him to be a very proper Perſon for a daily Calumniator; which Talent is of very little Uſe in Writing.

What is joined with the fore-mentioned Impoſſibility, is particularly ſurprizing, and puts

puts it out of Doubt, that they know nothing of *Preventing*; for he believes, this Method of preventing as deplorable as finding a SPECIFICK *Preſervative from the* SMALL POX. Is it not a ſtrange Expreſſion from a Phyſician, to declare that nothing leſs than a *Specifick* can *preſerve*. Now as *preſerving* and *Curing*, are truly and really the ſame thing, but apply'd at different Times of a Diſeaſe; it is very certain, that any Remedy that cures a formed Diſeaſe, will likewiſe cure a *naſcent* Diſeaſe, or will *prevent* its forming into a Diſeaſe, whereby the Functions and Actions of an Animal are hurt and deſtroyed. I ſaid, that it was far from being impoſſible to prevent the *Small-Pox*; and I now ſay, that may be done without *a Specifick*. All my *Remarker* anſwers, is to the laſt of theſe Aſſertions. *Is this poſſible? or rather, is not this plainly having no Regard to Truth, in Order to oppoſe* Dr. Mead.

I expect nothing mannerly from this Sceptick Clown; but he ought to have proved my Aſſertion falſe, before he paſſed his Complement. I am at no Pains to oppoſe Dr. *Mead*: He does not prove any thing, and oppoſes himſelf; but I wiſh, that the late ill Succeſſes in the *Small-Pox* did not prove, that ſome People have neither *Specifick*, nor any other Medicines

for

for the *Small-Pox*; or the very worſt Judgment in adminiſtring them.

I could not imagine, how this unlucky Conjunction of *Preventing* by *Specificks* happen'd; nor can I, to this Day, aſſign any better Reaſon for it, than that Doctor *Anodyne Necklace* has one, and that theſe two Doctors ſeem to rival one another in the ſame Method, and Meaſures; and conſequently, that our Doctor muſt have his Specifick alſo. This Conjecture will appear not to be without its Foundation, if we recollect his ordinary Method of diſparaging Phyſicians, when he would recommend himſelf; and how, at this Time, he diſparages their Medicines, in Order to recommend his own: Which Obſervation blows up my Remarker into a Flame, even to bring forth a Sentence, I wiſh he had concealed; becauſe the clearing it muſt expoſe his Maſter.

I ſaid his Medicines are of two Sorts; one Set of them publiſhed in a very ſmall Book; tho' there is a large Account of their *Virtues* and *Uſes*. My *Remarker* asks me, if I *mean ſome Medicines publiſhed under the Name of* Dr. Radcliff's *Receipts*. The very ſame. *None of them*, ſays he, *are againſt the Plague*. What of all that? *But theſe are excellent Medicines*, ſays Mr. Remarker, *for the Purpoſes to which the Skilful ſee they are deſigned*. It may be ſo, but

but does not this *Skill* chiefly consist in *Physiognomy*, and not in *Physick?* And have not they done greater Wonders in Cases of *Soft* Heads and *Fat* Brains, than in any other? As for the Mirth and May-Game of his ignorant Commentator, that gives me no Trouble. I think them all equally knowing and honest; and this will appear from the Scuffle had then about these Medicines, commonly called Doctor *Radcliff*'s; tho' all of them are Dispensatory Medicines.

Upon the Death of Dr. *Radcliff* a Dispute arose about the Property of his Medicines. Dr. *Strother* publish'd a small Book of the Medicines; and thus it was made known, to whom People might repair, now *Pan* was dead. To ward this early Blow given to some other *Pretenders*, which otherwise might ruin them, they apply to some worthy Gentlemen of great Families, and great Estates, and of Honour equal to both the former; who are assured that Dr. *Radcliff* left secret Medicines, and that those publish'd at that Time, were Medicines only of common Use with the Doctor. And therefore as these Gentlemen were willing to consult Dr. *Radcliff*'s Honour, publish this Account in the *Flying-Post*; and the World was given to understand, that Dr. *Radcliff* had Secrets in Physick.

As

All my *Remarker* ſays, is, that Dr. *Mead pretends to no Secrets. But what is all this to Remedies againſt the Plague?* I hope he will ſwear to the firſt Part, and then I hope he is not in all the Secrets. And he has an Anſwer to the laſt Demand in the Book, from whence he quotes the Hiſtory of Secret Medicines. But I will repeat, what I already writ. I ask his Maſter, How Gentlemen know Secrets in *Phyſick?* I know they do not pretend to that Knowledge; nor is it hard to gueſs, who had the chief hand in their Information; and who truly miſlead them. And who but they who laid a general Scheme to abuſe Mankind thro' ſo worthy Gentlemen, and by making a Profit by the *pretended* Inheritance of theſe *pretended* Secrets. And who now can promiſe, that we ſhall not hear of a Secret of Dr. *Radcliff's* for the *Plague*, if God ſhould thus puniſh our Sins: And it is as hard to tell who will proclaim this *Direct* or *Indirect* Property.

From all this Account it were eaſy to give Rules, how to become a Phyſician of great Fame. I find they are already too plain, ſo that greater Progreſs is already made that way, than is becoming a Phyſician, in the way of our Anceſtors. Phyſick, I am afraid, will not be long an Art of *Curing*, but of *Deluding* the People: For the Branch of *Preſerving* is now declared impoſ-

impoſſible by one great Phyſician, and his Champions.

And therefore as Dr. *Mead* has neither given us any Account of *Peſtilential Contagion*, nor any *Method* (by Phyſick) of *preventing* it, as he undertook; every Body muſt agree, that he has proceeded in ſuch a Method, *as never was taken in former Times among* US, *and* is indeed very different *from what they commonly do* ABROAD.

But as the principal Cauſe of our being deprived of theſe deſirable Rules of preventing is, that Dr. *Mead* has wrought up a Book, without Principles, and due Knowledge in Phyſick; on the other Hand, I heartily commiſerated the Fears of the People, and from Principles of Phyſick I have given them Rules for preſerving Health; ſo *plain*, that no Body has miſtaken them; and at the ſame time ſo *ſatisfactory*, that People approve my Method of giving them *Rules*, rather than *Medicines*. Even my Adverſary, Dr. *Mead's Champion*, thinks fit to put an End to his Diſcourſe with one of them, in my very Words.

Yet, as Mr. *Remarker* has an Itch to go out of his Depth, and is encouraged to find Fault with ſome of them, he thinking them *eaſy* to be underſtood, becauſe they are very *plain*; and therefore he is pleaſed to call

me to an Account for ſome things deliver'd among theſe Rules, which I will now maintain.

Every Reader, ſays my Remarker, *will perceive, that this Appendix abounds with Triffles and Abſurdities, which this Author would put upon us as Matters of Importance, only by calling the moſt common and known Things by out-of-the-way Names.* But ſurely, my *Remarker's* Head is turn'd; for the Names are very common, ſuch as *Meat* and *Drink*, *Sleeping* and *Waking*, *Exerciſe* and *Reſt*, &c. ſo that his Meaning is, that I have under very common Names, deliver'd very out-of-the-way Things.

The firſt of theſe Things my Remarker produces, is this *unaccountable* Expreſſion, as he calls it. *If the Blood was not to decay, and that it never wanted any Supply, our Life could neither be ſo long, nor ſo eaſy.* I do not ſee one out-of-the-way Name in all this Propoſition: But if he be out of the way of underſtanding it, that is not my Concern:

He cannot for his Life, write honeſtly; for he brings in this Corollary before its Time, that M*an is naturally mortal*; which he calls *ironically* an *admirable Diſcovery*: And when it is drawn out of both Conſiderations, it is an admirable Diſcovery, and gives us the moſt juſt Thoughts of the *Good-*

neſs

neſs and *Power* of our *Beneficent* Creator. It is a Diſcovery for this Reaſon, that it is a common Queſtion, whether *Adam*, and Men, before the Fall, or if they had never fallen, are naturally mortal: Which Corollary determining the Queſtion, at leaſt being a more poſitive Anſwer, than any hitherto given, makes it a Diſcovery; which poor *Remarker* may now learn not to call it hereafter unaccountable.

This Corollary is of great Uſe in Phyſick alſo; for as *Man is naturally Mortal*, Phyſicians, who like *Paracelſus*, would render Men immortal, attempt Matters very fruitleſs and vain, however charitable and well intended: So we may hope, that theſe ingenious Perſons will turn their Labours upon more hopeful Studies hereafter.

His next Remark is on this Propoſition; a Perſon with the worſt Blood will live longer by the common Supplies, than any one with the beſt Blood, but without them. This he turns, Will live longer than a Man dying of the moſt *malignant Plague*. And if he had put *Dead*, inſtead of *Dying*, his Remark had been ſtill more like himſelf.

We find, that all theſe Propoſitions are very plain, but the Senſe of them, are very remote from my *Remarker*'s Underſtanding: For I conſider, in this Place, the Neceſſity of *Excretion* to our Exiſtence, and

of the mutual Supplies of this Defect, and I add the fore-mentioned Words, which are in Effect this ſurprizing Conſideration, *why Men die for Hunger, while they, living, have no Want of Blood*; which is ſtill as much out-of-the-way of my Remarker's Underſtanding, as before.

The next thing with an out-of-the-way Name my *Remarker* calls *Sleep*, a very *ſtrange* Name to every *Engliſhman*. I ſay, that the moſt uſeful Time to an Animal, is the Time of Sleep. And in the following Page, when I am giving Marks of our declining into Sickneſs, by the Failure of this great Repairer of our Decays, I add, that it muſt be particularly obſerved, that in the Plague much Sleeping is far more dangerous, than the moſt obſtinate Watchfulneſs. And therefore I do not apprehend any Contradiction in theſe Expreſſions; ſo that they both hold good in theſe different Times and Circumſtances. One would think my Remarker aſleep, when he brought forth both theſe Propoſitions, in Oppoſition to one another; eſpecially that *Sleep* is a common Word, and well underſtood, and the different Caſes of Sleep are equally well perceived. *Comatoſi diu, rurſuſque inſomnes*, are bad Symptoms of the Plague in the Opion of *Hippocrates* and *Galen*.

My *Remarker* has a mighty Deſire of finding Fault, but he is as impotent as his Maſter. This appears in his very laſt Remark.

I ſay, could the Fluidity, the Blood acquires in the Lungs, be preſerved in all other Arteries, the Blood ſhould be carried thro' all our Body, ready fitted and prepared for Excretion. Here a whole Heap of Obſervations are made; but all becauſe this Aſſertion is out of the way of his Underſtanding. I hope he will not call them Trifles.

Firſt than, he obſerves, that I ſaid the Doctrine of Secretions had been perfectly well explained many Years ago: And ſo I ſtill inſiſt upon this Truth. The Queſtion that follows, whether what I now ſay, agrees with what is commended by the Author of the Treatiſe of a *Looſneſs*. What is my Concern with that Author? But I aſſert again, that his Account of Secretion is ſo very much to my liking, that I find no Difference between what I ſay here, and what that Author ſays in the fore-mentioned Book, or rather in the *Animal Oeconomy*, where it was firſt produced, and ſo evidently demonſtrated.

But my *Remarker* alleges, that theſe two Accounts differ very much. For the *Notion* in the Book of a Looſneſs *ſuppoſes different Degrees of Fluidity in the Blood at different Diſtances from the Heart.* Is there any thing here to the contrary? No, for this different State of the Blood is ſuppoſed only; and even upon granting the Suppoſition, the Secretions would differ in ſome Particulars, but not in the general Doctrine.

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The remaining Part is an abſolute *judicious* Forgery (in my Remarker's Style) for there is no ſuch thing to be found neither in the *Animal Oeconomy*, the Book of a *Looſneſs*, nor in any other *Work* of that *Author*; and ſhews alſo, that my Remarker is very ignorant in this Matter. *The Particles*, ſays he, *fit to form any of the Secretions* (ſay *Liquors* to be ſecreted) *may approach, be attracted by one another, and combine together, as they are carried to the reſpective Glands, formed for that particular Secretion.* In all this, my *Remarker* throws out more Blunders, than there are Words. What he would be at, is the Doctrine of the late judicious Dr. *James Keill*; who thought the modern Notion of *Attraction* might help to render the former Account plainer.

The firſt, that I know of, ſays Dr. *Keill*, *who, to explain Secretion, thought it neceſſary to conſider the State of the Blood at different Diſtances from the Heart, was the ingenious* Dr. COCKBURN; *and tho' he was not then aware of this Principle of Attraction; yet he wiſely foreſaw, that different Velocities of the Blood were requiſite for ſecerning the different Fluids.* So we ſee, how our blundering *Remarker* confounds two different Authors, and ſo mangles their Doctrine, that no Man living can underſtand him, that is not firſt acquainted with theſe Authors.

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We find likewiſe, that my *Remarker* proceeds in his old ill Courſes, and will pin *Attraction* and *Combination* upon the Author of the *Animal Oeconomy* againſt the Senſe of Mankind; and tho' that Author has never mentioned that Principle in any of his Works, even after the learned and perſpicuous Mathematician, the late Excellent *Dr. John Keill*, inſcribed thoſe Laws of *Attraction* to *Dr. Cockburn*, in the Philoſophical *Tranſactions* of the Royal *Society*.

As there has not any Contradiction been fixed on theſe two Notions of Secretion; and that Dr. *Cockburn* is acknowledg'd for the firſt *Diſcoverer* of the *Mechaniſm* of Secretion; and is certainly the Perſon who has chiefly made the true Uſe of it, either for diſcovering *Theories* in Phyſick, or bringing *Certainty* into its Practice; we muſt likewiſe acknowledge, that he has helped us to the moſt uſeful and univerſal Doctrine in Phyſick. *Lionardo di Capoa* would, hereafter, as little charge Phyſick with Uncertainty, as he could boaſt of this Uncertainty, being removed on his Side the *Alps*. Here he has no Pretence for the Doctrine of Secretions being *invented* in *Italy*, and *improved* in *England*, as he did on another Occaſion.

I am more particularly thankful for this Diſcovery; for thereby I have given this *true*, tho' faint, Repreſentation of the divine Syſtem of Life; which informs us of

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the common Means of our Living, and from which I have drawn ſuch Rules, that are ſo *particular*, ſo *plain*, and in that *Number*, that I may venture to compare them with any Art of preſerving Health, that is to be found in any former *Age* and *Period* of Phyſick; tho' theſe truly admirable Phyſicians had carried Medicine as great a Length, as it is poſſible by mere *Obſervation*.

When I found my *Remarker* had attempted a *Criticiſm* upon this *Appendix*, I expected ſome of his familiar Epithets of *Ignorance*, or *Raſhneſs* at leaſt. The firſt, becauſe I might ſeem to leſſen the common Number of *Non-naturals*, through Want of Knowledge: But, if he allowed me to be apprized of my having broke in upon the received Number, then I might be arraigned of great *Boldneſs* and *Temerity*. I was much ſurprized, that this was no Part of my Charge: But how is my Surprize encreaſed; when I find all this Thunder ends in proclaiming the Accompliſhments of their Enemy.

The Plague being conveyed in Goods, is a New and False Opinion.

I Am ſenſible, that a Diſcourſe, which doubts of the Infection of the Plague being conveyed by *Goods*, will appear very ſingular, and againſt the allowed Experience of Mankind in this Age: But as I hope to ſhew, that the Opinion that has moſt commonly prevailed among us of late, of *Merchandize*, *Houſhold-Goods*, and *Apparel*, being a *Fomes* or *Matrice* for rearing up a *Plague*, to to be as *Falſe*, as it is *New*; And that *Experience* as little teaches us, that the *Peſtilent* Infection is conveyed by *Goods*, as *Hiſtory* vouches for the Univerſality and Truth of this Opinion.

We will the more readily believe, what I now ſuggeſt and hint; if we recollect what has been already ſhewn in this Book, that the *Air* does not *produce*, far leſs *bring* any real *Corruption* into the Blood, when it

produces the Plague. As alſo, that, whatever the State of the Blood may be, there is not any Corruption carried from the Body of the *Sick*, into the Body of the *Sound*. This we learned from pure Obſervation; and, conſequently, that the Plague is not a Contagious Diſeaſe; it being in the Nature of a contagious Diſeaſe, that its Infection is known to be communicated from one Man into another, by the Touch. We may therefore wonder, how *Goods* receive Corruption, and how they more readily convey the Plague, than one Man does to another. This ought to have been made very plain by Obſervation, and Experience, before ſuch groundleſs Opinions are introduced to the Prejudice of *Traffick*, and the *Quiet* and *Peace* of the World.

Tho' I mention *Goods* in general; yet we find ſome kind of Goods, without any great Authority, ſuppoſed to communicate Infection more particularly, as *Furrs*, *Feathers*, *Silk*, *Hair*, *Wool*, *Cotton*, and *Flax*. If the Suggeſtors of this Opinion ſupport it, as they certainly do, from what is ſaid in the * Scriptures about the Plague of *Leproſy*, why then do they omit the *Walls* of our *Houſes* out of the Number of their *Fomes*; or do not they think them proper on this Occaſion? However, theſe Goods will be conſider'd, and in

* *Levitic.* chap. 13.

in the Country too, where they are ſuppoſed moſt dangerous. * *Cotton*, ſays Dr. *Mead*, *is moſt dangerous*, *and* Turkey *is almoſt a perpetual Seminary of the Plague.*

But to render our Hiſtory more complete, I will not only found my Accounts on the *Arabian* Phyſicians, who relate the ſmall Regard the *Turks* have to *Cotton* or other *Merchandize* or Apparel, giving them the Plague; but I will comprehend *Greece* in this Account, tho' *Conſtantinople* be the ſole Town of *Trade* in all the *Europæan* Dominions of the *Turks*, from whence we could bring the Plague; and that, becauſe *Greece* has been anciently, as well as in the latter Ages, often infected with the Plague; and from *Greece* we have not only received the beſt Obſervations in Phyſick, but even *Phyſick* it ſelf. And indeed, Phyſick in the moſt learned *Arabian* Authors is nothing more than what they learned from the *Greeks*, excepting a Diſeaſe or two, and their voluminous Preſcriptions.

It was in *Greece*, that all the *looſe* Obſervations and Practices in Phyſick were firſt collected into a Body, and afterwards formed into a Science. It was from *Greece*, that Phyſick was firſt brought into *Italy*, and from thence tranſmitted all over the *Weſt*, as faſt as the *Roman* Arms could ſubdue our Countries and our Barbarity at the ſame time.

* Pag. 27.

And as ſome of the Goods I lately mention'd, are the *Merchandize* of that Country; the Judgment of theſe Phyſicians, who were the Authors of Phyſick, and who truly carried it to all the Perfection, pure Obſervation and Experience can poſſibly do, muſt be owned to be irrefragable, and not to be queſtioned in a mere Matter of Fact, in their own Country, and for a great Series of Years.

Yet in all their Books of Phyſick we only hear, that a Plague is a Fever; but no more of a Plague being carried and conveyed by Goods, than of the *Plagues* of *Cattle* being *bred* abroad, and brought into other Countries, by the like Conveyance. Neither the *Greek* School, nor the *Italian*, nor the *Arabian* (who flouriſh'd and preſerved Phyſick, when it was no more in either of the former) make any mention of a Plague being *brought*, or *fomented*, and *nurſed* by their coſtly *Furrs*; or by any other *Goods* whatſoever. In ſhort, neither the *Grecians*, nor the *Italians*, for ſome time after the Reviving of Learning, had any Notion of the Plague, paſſing from one Man into another; and far leſs of its paſſing from a Man into Merchandize, and back again from that into Men. *Hippocrates*, the moſt ancient Phyſician, gives us an ample Account of Plagues; and his Obſervations are ſo natural and true, that the ſucceeding Plagues were but

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ſo many Confirmations of the Account given firſt by the great *Hippocrates*. But we learn nothing of this kind from him, nor his Succeſſors, till about the middle of the ſixteenth Century of the Chriſtian *Æra*, which makes up two thouſand Years. In all which time we find nothing of a Plague being bred, or brought in Goods.

Moreover, theſe Phyſicians made the beſt Uſe of Obſervations of every other kind, inſomuch, that they copied Nature better than their admired Sculptors, and have tranſmitted theſe Obſervations with an admirable Simplicity of Expreſſion. Can it then be thought, that they could fail in obſerving, what we allow every Body capable of, the moſt obvious Facts, that muſt have occurred to them often every Day, in repeated Plagues. *Rhazes* lived one hundred and twenty Years; and how often may we think he practiſed on the Plague. Having therefore the unanimous Conſent of the moſt ſagacious Phyſicians, living in the Countries of the Plague, that the Plague is never carried about in Merchandize; we have, at the ſame time, many Millions of Experiments and the univerſal Agreement of the beſt Phyſicians for the Plague not being *contagious*, and that it is neither *bred* nor conveyed in *Goods*.

We ſhall quickly ſee, what kind of Experiments are alleaged in Oppoſition to theſe

Ages

Ages of Obſervations made by the moſt ſagacious Phyſicians. At preſent I will obſerve, what a moſt learned Phyſician, who lived till the Beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, ſays on this Occaſion, * *After I had made a moſt particular Search among the Writings of ancient Phyſicians, for the Plague being communicated by a Fomes, I never could diſcover any ſuch Opinion among them. But what is very remarkable, no modern Phyſician, who has either taught Phyſick, or has tranſlated the Works of the Ancients, ever offered at an Explanation of a Matrice or Fomes, till the times of our Grandfathers.*

Can we, then, with any Appearance of Reaſon upbraid our Contemporaries in *Greece*, or *Turkey*, with being pertinaciouſly addicted to the *Cuſtoms* of their Anceſtors? Can we charge the laſt, for not examining their *Traditions* from their Phyſicians *Rhazes*, *Avicenna*, &c.? Or, for falling ſtupidly into a Neglect of themſelves, thro' the Perſuaſion of a *Tenet* of their Religion about *Predeſtination*. But theſe People are nothing ſo ſtupid as we commonly repreſent them; nor do we find, that this Doctrine works ſuch Wonders among Chriſtians, whether they be the Fataliſts in the Church of *Rome*, *Geneva*, or *Scotland*. And therefore we ſuppoſe too much in their Favour, when we would perſuade Men, that they are better

* *Hieron. Mercurialis.*

better grounded in their *Predeſtination*, than Chriſtians are in the ſame Article of their Religion.

Nothing leſs could keep them up againſt the miſtaken Notion of *peſtilent Contagion*, but *Experience*. They were dreſſed in the Manufacture of *Cotten*, *Silk*, *Furr*, or of *Flax*, when they firſt came into the World, theſe Goods have been their Apparel ever ſince. It is for *Cotton*, and its *Manufactures*, for *Silk*, and all the known *Merchandize*, that they trade with *Perſia*, the *Eaſt Indies*, and *European* Countries; and will it be in the Power of any Man, to diſſuade them from a Trade, ſo profitable, and nothing perilous.

And therefore this View of *Turkey* has furniſh'd us with an uninterrupted Experience, and the univerſal Declaration of that Nation, for upwards of two thouſand and one hundred Years, that the *Plague is neither bred in Goods, nor brought by them into any other Country.*

On the other hand, would we convert any one from the *Fanataciſm* of the Plague being conveyed in Goods; I deſire him, to travel into *Turkey*, and there view the Behaviour of the *Turks*, *Greeks*, or *Franks*, in the Time of a Plague. He will be aſtoniſh'd to ſee the Familiarity his Country-Men contract with the moſt dangerous Diſtemper; and if his Courage does not lead him to

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ſhake off his Notions, yet he may prove a qualified Hiſtorian of the Madneſs of others, which perhaps he may call their reaſonable Behaviour. Thus has every Nation, that have Commerce with the *Turks*, been cured of ſuch falſe Notions by the Practice and Experience of the *Turks*.

The *Venetians* were long poſſeſs'd of the profitable *Turkey-Trade*; and were almoſt the only *Merchants*, that traded into *Turkey*, and furniſh'd the *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe* with this *Merchandize*: In all that Time they had no *Notions* of the frequent Plagues being *conveyed* in Goods they brought home, and were tranſported into other Nations. And it is very remarkable, that about the Time they inſtituted *Officers* of *Health*, and begun the Practice of *Quarentines* againſt Men's Perſons, tho' not for *Merchandize*, their Trade fell ſenſibly into Decay. Our Merchants about the ſame time made Experiments of the *Turkey-Trade*, and became Proſelytes to this *Turkiſh* Opinion, That a Plague is not conveyed in Goods.

The *Succeſs* of this new Trade was quickly perceived in *England*, and became the more acceptable, that they were the Merchants, who chiefly carried off the Manufactures of our *Wool*; a great Encouragement to the Induſtry of our People, and a great Cauſe of our Eſtates becoming of a greater Value. It was no Wonder, then, that this

Trade

Trade was ſo well received by the People; and theſe *Traders* found ſo great *Favour* from the *Crown*, as to be eſtabliſh'd in a *Company*, with a *Charter* about 120 Years ago. It will therefore be proper, to conſult the Opinion of theſe Merchants about *peſtilent Infection* being *conveyed* in *Goods*: As alſo, what Experience we have, of a Plague, being brought by them into *England*, during the Time of their Traffick, ſince they have been eſtabliſh'd in a Company.

We may judge for our ſelves in the laſt of theſe Articles; for it is acknowledged, that the *Turkey-Company* has never once brought us over a Plague, ſince their firſt Eſtabliſhment; yet their Merchandize has always been returned, and from Countries where the Plague was making great Deſtruction; inſomuch, that we never once ſuſpected any Sickneſs being brought by them, excepting a groundleſs Jealouſy, in 1665, which ſhall be ſhewn to have been without any Ground or Foundation.

We know by the Reſiding of our Merchants in various Parts of the *Mahometan Dominions*, how to judge in the Matter of carrying a Plague in a Bale of Goods. I have converſed with ſome who lived in *Grand Cairo*; and who in great Demands for Merchandize, during a Plague, have not only attended in their *Ware-Houſes*, when their *Goods* were packed up, but have likewiſe

wiſe aſſiſted in the Buſineſs of *Flax*, and *Cotton*, without receiving any Hurt in themſelves, or perceiving any in their *Labourers*. The like Accounts we have from *Smyrna*, *Aleppo*, *Scanderoon*, *Conſtantinople*, &c. But what is very particular, the dangerous *Cotton* is the Merchandize they *ſmell* at, and handle more than any other.

Theſe Merchants ſent us Goods, ſeven Years ago, from *Aleppo*; while there raged in it a moſt deſtructive Peſtilence, that carried off *ninety thouſand Souls* in half a Year; yet neither Plague, nor any Degree of it was perceived here. The Merchants inform us, That there is not any Place, which is always infeſted with the *Plague*, not *Grand Cairo* itſelf, notwithſtanding of the ill Name it bears: As alſo, that Plagues keep in ſo conſtant a Courſe, that they know their Duration, and Violence, by their appearing earlier or later in the *Spring*. And therefore, we have unqueſtionable Teſtimony from theſe worthy Gentlemen, which makes us conclude, that a Plague is never conveyed in Goods. We have likewiſe our own Experience, and that of our Anceſtors; for the *Turkey-Goods* never having brought the Plague amongſt us, in upwards of one hundred Years. Their Teſtimony is the more unqueſtionable; let them be ſuppoſed as partial for their own Trade, as we can reaſonably, that this Teſtimony is no more,

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than what was given for nineteen-hundred Years before, and is at preſent the common Opinion of *Franks*, as well as of the *Turks* and *Greeks*. It is a moſt unreaſonable Partiality in any one, to diſcredit the Teſtimony of Numbers of Men, of fair and unblemiſhed Characters; only becauſe their *Intereſt* may lead them to think a little favourably, and with ſome partiality for their Trade. But it is more hard, that they ſhould not find Credit in their Teſtimony, becauſe the Enemies of that Trade are not their Vouchers.

I hope, by this time, all Scruple is removed of Goods not carrying the *Infection* of the *Plague*: And it cannot be denied, but that this Proof is more ample and particular, than can be given of any other Fact in Queſtion, upon the Face of the Globe. But as I have thus dwelt upon this Hiſtory in *Turkey*, becauſe it is allowed to be moſt frequently viſited with the Plague, and its *Goods* the moſt dangerous *Plague-Keepers*, I will return homewards, and very briefly mention ſome Plagues, becauſe they are ſtill in our Memory; and many hundred Witneſſes are ſtill alive, to bear Teſtimony to the Facts I advance; which therefore will be more readily believed hereafter, that they cannot be diſproved at this time.

We all remember the Plagues in *Stockholm*, *Dantzick*, and *Hamburgh*, which in-

feſted theſe Parts within theſe Dozen of Years; where we had Ships locked up in Ice, for a very long Winter, and that returned loaded with *Flax*, *Hemp*, *Feathers*, and other infamous Carriers of Plagues; yet many hundreds of our Seamen employed in theſe Services came home in good Health, (tho' they had been Witneſſes of the great Mortality among the Natives of theſe Countries) neither did their Goods bring us any Degree of the Plague, from whence they were loaded.

Let us look back upon the laſt Plague in *Colcheſter*, ſoon after the Plague of *London*, a Town that yields great Riches by our Woollen Manufactures; and we may find, that the People did not ſlacken their Induſtry, tho' *Wool* is as dangerous as *Cotton*, by common Fame; nor did their Labours, ſent to *London*, and from thence ſent out to *Holland* and other Parts, ever carry the Plague along with them.

It were endleſs, to run through other Branches of our Trade, or to inſiſt upon any one of them particularly. Theſe *Inſtances* are irrefragable, the *Experiments* plain, and without Number; ſo that a Perſon that can withſtand this Evidence, is never to be perſuaded by any kind of Argument. It is therefore very manifeſt, that a *Plague* is never carried by *Goods*; or that the Infection

fection is never made *Contagious* by Merchandize, Apparel, *&c.*

I proceede therefore, in the next Place, to conſider the ſmall Number of Experiments alleaged for the Proofs of *peſtilent Infection*, being conveyed in Goods; and I will thereafter ſhew the Time, when Men firſt began to talk of the *Plague* being a contagious Diſeaſe.

Alexander Benedictus * tells us of a *Feather-Bed, that was thrown aſide into a remote Corner of the Houſe, being ſuſpected to hold the Plague in it; but that raiſed a Plague by ſhaking it up, after ſeven Years; of which five thouſand nine-hundred People died in twelve Weeks in* Wratiſlaw; *and the Peſtilent Contagion was ſhut up in a Rag, for fourteen Years.* This Obſervation will find no Patron nor Defender, it being againſt all the current Opinions of thoſe Times, as well as all Experience. And indeed, could the Plague thus skulk in *Clouts* and *Holes*, Men ſhould not find any Safety in any Apparel, but in a primitive Life; and then no longer than the firſt Plague, which may as juſtly be charged on this Ancient Cloathing, as on the Modern. Farewell *Quarentines*, and *Lazarets*, could this be true.

Foreſtus ſays † *that a youug Man was ſeized with the Plague, only by thruſting his Hand into*

* lib. de Peſte, cap. 3.
† lib. 6. Obſervat. 22.

into an old Trunk, wherein there was a Cob-web, which in that Inſtant made a Plague-Sore. And with this Breaking out, it ſeems, Matters went no further. But, in my Opinion, ſuch vulgar Notions ought to be laughed out of the World, that ſuggeſt that this peſtilent Venom (if I may ſo call it) can be kept in every Trifle. *I heard*, ſays an excellent Phyſician, *nor could I keep from Laughing, ſome Phyſicians, relating how ſome catched the Plague, only by handling the Bit of a Thread; which*, ſays this learned Perſon, *no Man in his Senſes ſhould think; and yet a great many of the ordinary People have commonly believed ſuch Stories. But*, adds the ſame Author, *the great and natural Deſire of living*, makes Men deviſe all theſe monſtrous and abſurd Accounts.

I cannot ſay, that an *Obſervation*, left by *Fracaſtorius*, proves much more than the two former; but as theſe three are the principal Experiments, brought by *Sennertus* for the Proof of the *Plague* being a contagious Diſeaſe; and, as far as I can learn, are the only Foundations for *Quarentines*; I hope no Body hereafter can doubt where the *Truth* abides, and with it the *Quiet*, *Safety*, and *Riches* of our Iſland.

Having great Reſpect for the Memory of the learned *Fracaſtorius*, I will not neglect his Experiment, eſpecially as he is the only Perſon who has writ beſt in that Cauſe, and

that

that on his Authority, about Contagion, great Affairs in Religion turned about 170 Years ago. *There was a Plague in Verona*, ſays the learned *Hieronymus Fracaſtorius*, *where out of one Leather Coat died five and twenty Germans, who put it on, one after another.*

But this Obſervation, according to *Fracaſtorius*, teaches us, that this *Coat* did not ſo much keep the *Plague*, as it did *poiſon*; for no Body ſuffered by it, beſides thoſe who actually wore it. It did not ſpread or propagate the Plague, by being ſtirr'd and opened, as in the former Caſe of *Alex. Benedictus*; nor as our *Cotton-Bags* or *Bale-Goods* are ſaid to do, immediately upon the opening of them: So that, according to this Obſervation, the *Leather* Coat held *Poiſon*, but not *peſtilent Infection*, and was not *contagious*; for we do not find it paſſing from the *dead* Germans.

Where ſhould be the Wonder, to ſee ſeveral People dying in the ſame Coat, in Times of Peſtilence. It is really no more, than if ſeveral Men became Heirs to the ſame Eſtate, one after another ſucceſſively, as the *Turks* reaſon. The true State of this Queſtion is, whether the Men had the Plague before they put on the Coat? Or that they died by putting it on? The laſt is impoſſible; becauſe of the Suddenneſs of the Death, and ſuppoſing them otherwiſe in

good

good Health: And the former is a Caſe common enough in Times of Peſtilence, as we may learn by making a Voyage to *Turkey*; where we may find Coats of all Sorts, belonging to many Maſters, without aſcribing the Cauſe of their Death to the *Habit*.

Doctor Hodges was deſired to viſit a Gentlewoman, who was ſeemingly in good Health, and had made a very hearty Dinner that very Day; yet the Doctor foretold her *Supping* with the *Saints* that Evening: Which happen'd accordingly; for ſhe died that Afternoon. I do not find the *Doctor* charged with her Death, tho' no doubt, he had viſited many, ill of the Plague, that Day. Many ſuch Accounts of ſudden Death, may be found in Phyſick-Hiſtory, without aſcribing them to *Trifles*, as *Witchcraft*. *Jacobus de Partibus*, a learned Commentator on *Avicenna*, tells us of a Man, who came to his Houſe for Advice, where he drop'd down dead, while he relates his Complaints; and of the Plague as this learned Author informs us; yet he never endeavours to clear himſelf, or to lay the Death upon a leather Shoe-String.

My laſt Anſwer, at this Time, ſhall be by another Obſervation; that all this happen'd thirty five Years, before the great *Fracaſtorius* publiſh'd * his Book; and when he was

* De Sympathia, & Antipathia, lib. 1. De Contagione & Contagioſis Morbis 1546 *Venetiis*.

was to young, to know this History with all the Circumstances, necessary for making it a sufficient Proof of the *Plague* being thus *conveyed*. It is, likewise, very plain, that this excellent Author wanted Observations very much to recommend his new Doctrine of the *Plague* being *contagious*, when he was forced to have Recourse to this *Leather* Coat, as the best he could find; yet he was a Man of great Parts, and could turn this *Leather* Coat into a *Yellow* one, upon the *Germans*, at *Trent*, as we shall shew by-and-by.

Our *Adversaries* call us nearer home, and appeal to the *Plague* of *London* in 1665; which, they say, was brought in a Bag of Cotton, and give Doctor *Hodges* for their Voucher. Nay, moreover, they appeal to the late Plague in *Marseilles*, where we are told a *Lady* died on the Spot; only by smelling at a *Turkey-Handkerchiff*; as also, that a *Man* drop'd down dead, for standing on a a *Turkey-Carpet*.

I wish we were as well, and particularly, informed about the Beginning of the *Plague* in *London*, as we are of that of *Marseilles*: No Man can think a Bag of *Cotton* any real Cause of the Plague of *London*, which had received some Millions of Bags from infected Places before, and many thousands of Bags since that Time, with as little Hurt as the former; except we make the Difference in

one Man's Aſſertion againſt Millions of Experiments: Which ſhould be groſly *abſurd*. Beſides, the *Preſident of the Royal College of Phyſicians* affirms, that the Plague in 1665 began in St. *Giles*'s by *Flax*; ſo that here is a ſecond Report, and no better than the former, though it was told his Majeſty in Counſel.

Dr. *Hodges* ſays, It was reported, that the Plague was brought in a *Bag* of *Cotton*; but that it broke out in *Weſtminſter*. The Odds are very great, for the *Plague* not breaking out in *Weſtminſter*, after we admit of its arriving in *Cotton*: But the Odds amount near to an Impoſſibility, if we conſider, that the Plague began firſt among the *Butchers* in *Clare-Market*; yet we have a living Witneſs, a Perſon of great Honour, and who did Duty in *London* as a Coronet of Horſe at that Time; who publickly declares, that the firſt Houſe ſhut up, was where the *Bull-Head-Tavern* is at preſent, or very near it. So that this Bag of *Cotton* is not only the moſt miſchievous, that ever came into *England* in an hundred Years; but choſe the oddeſt Corner of all the Town, to diſmiſs the Plague in. But idle Tales of this kind are very common in the Beginning of every Plague. We were amuſed, much after the ſame manner, with the forementioned abſurd Accounts about the breaking out of the Plague in *Marſeilles*: But authentick Records, lately

publiſh'd,

publish'd, have fully disabused the World of all these Foolleries. And therefore as great Care has been taken by the Government in *France*, that the *Journal of the Plague of Marseilles* should be genuine and made publick; every Body must own, that the Matter of Fact related therein, is the most proper to determine any *Question* about *pestilential Contagion*; not only in *France*, but every where.

The first Ship, from which they apprehend any Sickness, arrived at *Marseilles the 25th of* May, 1720. *she was commanded by Captain* Chataud, *and came from* Sidon, Tripoli, Syria, *and* Cyprus: *But his* Patents *are* clean (*i. e. his Certificates imported there was no Contagion* at these Places) *because he came away the* 31 *of* January, *before the Plague was there.* Capt. *Chataud* had six of his Men died at *Leghorn*, where he touched in his Way home: But these Men die of a *malignant Fever* only, as the Physicians there certify; which *Fever* they declare is occasioned by unwholesome Provisions.

The 27th of May *one of his Sailors dies in his Ship.* Next Day the *Corpse* is examined by the chief Surgeon of Health; but he reports, that it has not any Mark of Contagion upon it.

We find here a Sickness, but it is a *malignant Fever*: But had this Sickness been

the Plague; yet it could not be ſaid to be brought by the *Goods* of that Ship, becauſe they are loaded where the Plague was not, and the Ship departed on her Voyage, before the Plague appeared; and therefore the *Infection* of a *Plague* could not poſſibly be communicated to *Ship*, or *Cargo*.

Moreover, Dr. *Deidier*, in his Letter, publiſh'd at * *Montpellier*, tells us, that none of theſe Goods had been carried a-ſhore; and conſequently, that they could not carry the *Plague* to *Marſeilles*, ſhould we ſuppoſe them ever ſo infected. *Some fancied*, ſays Dr. *Deidier*, *that the little Bundles or ſmall Parcels of Goods, being clandeſtinely ſtole into the Town, diſperſed the Plague all thro' it. It was upon this miſtaken Notion, and Prejudice, that they believed, that every ſick Perſon, infected every thing he but touched; and eſpecially the* Apparel *he wore, and the* Bed *he lay upon.* So as none of this *Merchandize* was then brought into *Marſeilles*, not ſo much as a ſmall *Bundle*, as far as was ever known; we have all poſſible Reaſon to conclude, that the Plague was not brought into *Marſeilles* by the *Goods* of Capt. *Chataud's* Ship, which was the moſt ſuſpected.

Monſ. *Deidier* gives us the Reaſon, why the People of *Marſeilles* burned their *wearing Cloaths* and *Houſhold-Stuff* in the Beginning

* See Journal de Scavans pour le Mois d' *Octobre*, 1721. pag. 467.

ning of that Plague. *It was thought expeaient in the Beginning*, ſays that Phyſician, *to throw all their Furniture into the Streets, and there to burn them*, TO QUIET THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE. *We were obliged*, ſays *Monſ. Deidier, to comply with the Opinion of the Publick, in this Article, who having not totally conquered their Opinion, concerning the Contagion of the Small-Pox, were not able quickly to* get the better of a Prejudice, which they entertained of a Diſeaſe; WHICH WAS NO WHERE BRED, BUT AT MARSEILLES.

What I then concluded from *Circumſtances*, gathered from the *Journal*, about Captain *Chataud*'s Ship, is to every bodies Satisfaction the very ſame, that *Monſieur Deidier* aſſerts expreſly, and in Terms. Now as Monſieur *Deidier*, is an unqueſtionable Judge, his *Character* being avowed in the *Journal*, if it had not otherwiſe been known; who can doubt hereafter of the Plague being actually at *Marſeilles*, before any Goods were put a-ſhoar; and, probably, before Capt. *Chataud*'s Ship arrived off of *Marſeilles*.

But I will proceed a little further with the *Journal*; becauſe it informs us, not only, that the Ship which departed from a healthy Place in *Turkey* was the moſt ſickly, but alſo, that the Ships which arrived from the Parts *infected* with the Plague, were the moſt

moſt healthy. Thus clearly does the *Journal of the Plague at Marſeilles*, ſet every thing in its proper Light; teaching us, that as Ships coming from infected Ports, bring no Sickneſs; but all their Company keeps in good Health: So the Sickneſs aboard of Ships departing from healthy Parts, cannot be ſuppoſed to be communicated, where there was no ſuch Sickneſs.

And therefore, returning to the *Journal*, we find the three Ships arriving, the laſt of *May* from *Turkey*, ſince the Plague had appeared there: But as the *Journal* makes no particular Mention of their Certificates, I will forbear drawing any Conſequences from their healthful State.

The firſt Ship that arrived with a *foul Patent*, was that of *Captain Gabriel*, *June* 13th: Another Ship with a foul *Patent*, arrives *June* 28th from *Sidon*. Both theſe Ships are very fatal to the Doctrine of the *Plague* being *contagious*; for there is not one ſick Perſon aboard either of them; nor does any *Cuſtom-Officer*, or any *Officer* of Health catch any Diſtemper from the *Companies* or *Goods* of theſe Ships: So that, if any Inference, in Favour of Contagion, is to be drawn from the Hiſtory of theſe Ships; we find theſe Goods moſt dangerous, where there is no Suſpicion of the Plague, and the *Ships* and *Cargos*, arriving from infected Parts, bring no *peſtilent* Infection along with

with them: So that not only these *Observations* show, that the Plague did not come into *Marseilles* by *Merchandize*; but that the Plague was begun there *about*, or *before* the arriving of the first, of the forementioned Ships.

It is therefore manifest from the latest *Observations* of the Plague as well as from the most antient, that the Plague is never conveyed in *Goods*.

The most eminent *Physicians* are of this Opinion. *Mess. Chicoineua*, *Verni*, and *Saulier* declared formerly against the *Plague* being transported in *Goods*; and we find Monsr. *Deidier* is of their Opinion: And if we follow the *Journal*, we shall find, that the Plague at *Marseilles* began, as Plagues most commonly do, among the poorest and most indigent of the People: As also, that the most strict Inclosure cannot confine the Plague to any Corner, nor prevent its Spreading.

The first of these Observations is evident, by considering, where the *Plague* first appeared in *Marseilles*. It breaks out upon one *Eissalene* in the Square of *Linche*, the *9th* of *July*; when *Mess. Peissonel*, and his *Son*, both *Physicians*, acquaint the Sheriffs therewith. The next Day this Patient dies, and his Sister falls sick: The Guard is doubled,

doubled, and both of them are carried out of Town into the *Infirmaries*.

The 11*th*, Notice is given, that one *Boyal* is fallen ill in the ſame Quarter of the Town; and the Phyſicians declare, he has the *Plague*. After this, and till the 20*th* nothing more is heard of the Plague: But then Notice is given, that 15 People are ſuddenly taken ill, in the Street *Leſcalle*. The Phyſicians do not agree about the Sickneſs. Some ſaid, it was a malignant Fever; but others, that it was a peſtilential Fever, occaſioned by Want, and of wholſome Food. Next Day eight of theſe die, and *Bubos* are found on two of them.

Hitherto the *Plague* only kept among the Poor; but all the Care and extraordinary Diligence of the *Sheriffs* could not confine it to that Quarter, nor any longer to that *Rank* of the People; for it now began to rage, and to attack all, without Diſtinction; tho' the *Sheriffs* carried off the Dead and the Sick, and prevented all Communication between the *Ships*, and the *Town*; as well as between the *Sick* and the *Sound* in the different Streets; whatever the Diſtemper was, that the People complain'd of.

And therefore, the *Stories* and abſurd *Conceits* of People droping on *Turkey-Carpets*, and ſmelling at *Turkey-Handkerchiff*, are out

out of Doors. Nay, it is very plain, that the Ships did not bring the Plague to *Marſeilles*; but that it truly *begun* firſt in that *Town*.

Having ſhewn, that *peſtilent Contagion* was never ſuſpected to be *conveyed* by *Men* or *Goods*; in the Opinion of the wiſeſt *Governours*, and of the moſt experienced *Phyſicians*, either in *Greece*, or *Rome*. On the other hand, the Obſervations alleaged for *Men* and *Goods* conveying the Plague, are *few*, *imperfect*, and of late *Date*: Let us, next, conſider the Time, when *Phyſicians* and *Princes* firſt ſpeak of *peſtilential Contagion*; upon what Occaſion it was firſt mentioned; and what Succeſs that Opinion has had in the World.

Nothing writ before *Fracaſtorius*, about the Contagion of the Plague, made any Change in the ancient and common Opinion; but that excellent *Phyſician* being a Perſon of great Learning, and a *Poet* of a brisk and lively Invention, writ upon the Plague, paſſing by Contagion from the Body of one Man into that of another, with great Elegance and Knowledge in Phyſick. For doing this more clearly, and that we might conceive his Notions the better, he premiſes a Book * concerning *Sympathy* and *Antipathy*; and in three more Books treats of *Contagion* and *contagious* Diſeaſes. Indeed it muſt be

* Venetiis, 1546.

owned, that he is not only the first Author, but the last two, who has treated that Subject in a rational Manner. But had not this new Doctrine fallen in with a very particular Conjuncture of Politicks, it had neither been so favourably received; nor had it subsisted, in all Probability, till our Times: For as it gave an Handle for a *Law*, so Princes have, in some Degree, kept it in Being.

It was about the Middle of the *Sixteenth Century*, that this Opinion was vented, and the Year following Pope *Paul* the 3*d*, a *Pope* of great Virtues, but who chiefly valued himself for *Politicks* and *Dissimulation*, made this new Doctrine very useful to himself, for removing the Council from *Trent* to *Bolonia*, and with it all the Uneasiness of his Court, about *Reformation*. This Pope had a Report spread, that the *Plague* was in *Trent*; and that it was contagious: Which Report answered the End, for which it was spread; for it frightned many *Bishops* out of *Trent*, and *Cardinal Monte* (one of the Legates) kept only a Majority, that enabled him to make use of the Plague, in adjourning the Council from *Trent* to *Bolonia*. Yet, upon Inquiry, the *Germans* found, when it was too late, that it was not a *common* Disease; but a Pretence. Thus this Coat was worse than that formerly mentioned in *Verona*. This is the Origin of the

Notion

Notion of *Peſtilential Contagion*, that has been applauded for its Antiquity, and the Univerſality of its being believed. This is the firſt, and great Service, it has done the World.

I will tranſcribe the moſt material Paſſages, that relate to what I have now delivered, out of Father *Paul*'s *Hiſtory* of the Council of *Trent*. After *Monte* was provided with Powers, for removing the Council, and other proper Meaſures were taken, there offered a very lucky Opportunity by the Sickneſs, that had got into ſome Families of the *Prelates*, either by Diſorders of the *Carnaval*, or the *Moiſture* of the *Air*, that had been ſome Days before.

Mente * ſays, This excellent *Stateſman*, ſuborned ſome to ask the Phyſicians, whether theſe *Infirmities* were not *Contagious*. The Phyſicians droped ſome ambiguous Words, which were ſtudiouſly ſpread abroad, and believed in their worſt Senſe, by ſome of the meaner Sort. Some alſo were very ready to believe this ill Report, eſpecially they who were willing to depart; and who therefore wiſhed the Report to be true. What added much Strength to the former Perſuaſion, was a *Biſhop* dying very *opportunely*: And that his Death might ſtill make a greater Impreſſion on the Minds of the

* Book 2. pag. 248. of Sir *Nath. Brent*'s Tranſlat.

People, he was buried with the *Obſequies* of the whole Council. Whereupon all *Trent* was full, that the Diſeaſe was *Contagious:* And the Fame of it was quickly ſpread into all the neighbouring Places.

The *Legates* would not appear to have a Finger in diſperſing theſe Reports; and therefore held a general Council next Day: And *Monte* gave Orders to *Hercules Severolo*, Protector of the Council, to make a *Proceſs* concerning the *peſtilent* Infirmity. The Phyſicians were examined, and *Jeronymus Fracaſtorius* among others, who had the Title of Phyſician of the Council. While this Proceſs depended, another Report was raiſed; that the neighbouring Places would have no further Commerce with the City of *Trent*. News likewiſe were brought, either true or feigned, that *Verona* would traffick no more with them: Which ſo much troubled them, that they looked upon themſelves as ſhut up in a Priſon, to ſtarve.

The 9th Day a general Congregation was held: In which the Proceſs was read, and a Propoſition made, what Remedy might be found, to prevent their being confined with a Diſeaſe in their Houſes, without *Victuals* and other *Neceſſaries* for their Support. Many proteſted, they would depart; and were hardly kept in *Trent:* And when much had been ſpoken, without giving any Satisfaction and Eaſe to their Minds; *Monte*

pro-

propoſed the *Tranſlation* of the Council, ſaying, he had *Apoſtolick* Authority, from the Beginning, for ſo doing.

The Emperor's *Prelates* oppoſed this Propoſition. But after the Congregation was ended, the Imperialiſts conferring among themſelves, and ſeeking curiouſly that which they did not care to know before, *ſmelt out, that the Diſeaſe was not common*, but a *Pretence*.

Thus much for the *Riſe* and *Origin* of the Notion of *peſtilent Infection* being capable to be conveyed from one Man into another. But if we enquire, how this Notion took afterwards among Phyſicians; even tho' it obtained the Declaration of the *Pope* and his Legates, we may find it very far from being a received Opinion to this Day. *Princes* and *States* at ſome Diſtance from the Council, or thoſe in Friendſhip with the Pope, might embrace this new Philoſophy, and in ſome Meaſure regulate themſelves thereby; as we find they did: For this gave the Handle for ſhuting up Houſes in Times of Peſtilence; which was tried with very different Succeſs in ſome Parts of *Italy*. And, without Doubt, this Notion gave the Riſe to the Act of Parliament in the * firſt Year of K. *James* I.

This

* Chap. 31.

This Act is entitled, *An Act for the charitable Relief and Ordering of Persons infected with the Plague*; which is a very wise Act, and the Disobedience of an infected Person commanded to keep his House punished with some Rigour necessary for commanding Obedience. But I must observe, that this *Act* was broke by Authority, in the time of the Plague 1665, as soon as its ill Effects, and the hurtful Consequences of it were discovered.

But to take Leave of the State; we will inquire, what Influence this new Doctrine had upon the Opinions of Physicians; which I will do very briefly. It was indeed very remarkable, how difficult it was for the learned Physicians at that Time, more especially for the Physick-*Professors* in the Dominions of these States, that had espoused the new Opinion of the Plague being a contagious Disease; or that were in any manner under the Power of the *Pope* and the *Ecclesiastical* State: For the few Physicians that have writ since that Time, hardly know, how to suit the Ancient and Current Opinion about the Plague, to a Doctrine newly broached in *Arbitrary* States and Governments. *Mercurialis*, who taught in more Universities in *Italy*, than any one, and with greater Encouragement from Princes, does not directly oppose this new Notion of pestilent Infection, passing from

one

one Man into another; tho' he declares the Novelty of it in the Words I formerly quoted. He profeſſes to wonder, why theſe ancient Phyſicians had not made any Declaration for the *Plague* being *contagious*, while his Arguments vigorouſly overthrow it. Thus with good Manners and Safety to his Perſon did he maintain the Truth of Phyſick, till the End of the Sixteenth Century.

Euſtachius Rudius, another learned Phyſician, and a Writer of a Syſtem, cannot conceive, how the Plague ſhould be carried in *Goods*; or that it ſhould otherwiſe affect us, on that Suppoſition, than by infectious Particles, mixed firſt with Air, and thereby conveyed when we breath: A very unfavourable Opinion for Quarentines; becauſe no Force can prevent any Diſeaſe, that is either made or conveyed by the Air.

Sanctorius, a Father in Phyſick, who has inſtructed us in ſome of the moſt uſeful Parts of that divine Art, could not well digeſt this new Opinion of his *Infallibility*; for he aſſerts, that Things infected with the Plague, infect ſo long only, as the *remote* and *immediate* Cauſes continue: But if any one of them fails, the Poiſon ſtops like the Movement of a Clock, that ſtops as ſoon as there is any Failure in the ſmalleſt Tooth of any Wheel: A very mean Notion of *peſtilential* Contagion. For if the *remote* Cauſe be a proper *Conſtitution* of Air; and the *immediate*

diate Cauſe a proper *Diſpoſition* of the Perſon. In that Caſe, the State of Air being changed, or the Diſpoſition of the Perſon, no Plague: Then farewel *Fomes* and *peſtilential Contagion.*

We are infected with the *Plague*, ſays *Sanctorius*, not by the *Touch*, *but by drawing in the peſtilent Air with our Breath.* This did *Sanctorius* write, in the Year 1614.

A noble and learned Phyſician in *Milan*, *Ludovicus Septalius*, who did great Service to his Country, by giving them early Notice of an Invaſion from the Plague, expreſly affirms, that the Manner of conveying Infection by a *Fomes*, was unknown to the Ancients, and was never thought of by them: Which Aſſertion is in his Book *, publiſhed in *Milan*, 1622.

The Plague of *Marſeilles* has confirmed the Phyſicians in *France* in the Opinion of the Ancients; that the *Plague* is not a *contagious Diſeaſe*, and that it is not *conveyed* in *Apparel*, *Houſhold-Goods*, or *Merchandize*; inſomuch, that we find, by the † *London Gazette*, the *French* gathering together the Flannels employed about their Sick of the Plague in the *Infirmiries*, in order to be laid up for ſome future Service; by no Means to be burned, or otherwiſe deſtroyed.

* De Peſte & peſtiferis Morbis.

† Febr. 13. *Paris* Article Feb. 18.

ed. So little do the *French* imagine this woollen Manufacture a ſpecial *Fomes* and Nurſery of a Plague. Has their Experience taught them this frugal Oeconomy; and cannot we poſſibly become wiſe? We, the great Traders in Wool, unleſs this Experience is made by our ſelves and in our own Country: A miſerable Project.

On the other Side, Let us reflect, how little the moſt zealous Advocates for a Plague being conveyed in Goods, had formerly to offer: How few and contemptible their Obſervations were: And can it be denyed, that *Leper-Houſes*, *Quarentines*, and theſe other Terrors of Mankind, are altogether groundleſs; without any Foundation in Reaſon or Experience.

What Dr. *Mead* affirms, in Defence of a *Fomes*, confirms this great Want of Proof; yet his Defender aſſures us, that the Doctor is a Perſon of Learning. From him, then, let us learn, what his Reading and Experience have taught him; which we may do in theſe perſpicuous Words. *If* as we have *conjectured*, the *Matter* of Contagion be an *active* Subſtance, *perhaps* in the Nature of a Salt, generated chiefly from the *Corruption* of a human Body; it is not hard to conceive, how this may be lodged in *ſoft porous* Bodies. We may learn then, that it is but an If, and a Conjecture, that the unknown

Matter of Contagion is an active Subſtance; or indeed whether it is a Subſtance at all. In the next Place, this Subſtance is perhaps only a Salt; becauſe we know not the *Proceſs* of its equivocal Generation (a much clearer Notion than the *Plague-Eggs* of *Kircherus* afford us) out of human Corruption. And laſtly, when all theſe manifeſt and convincing Conjectures are granted, we find it ſtill hard to conceive, how ſoft and porous Bodies preſerve theſe Salts. Does not then the learned Dr. *Mead* teach us clear and perſpicuous Doctrine; ſuch as he has acquired by his great Reading, and his long Experience.

We hear indeed of the * *Leprous* Infection ſeizing and freting our *Garments*; which gave a Handle to ſome Phyſicians, to talk of *ſoft* and *porous* Bodies, entertaining every other Plague; tho' theſe very Phyſicians neglect and wilfully omit what is ſaid in the following Chapter, of the ſame Plague infecting likewiſe the *Walls* of Houſes among the Jews; yet we hear nothing of this Qualification of *Softneſs* in theſe *Walls*, for their better Reception of a Plague. Moreover, *Fracaſtorius* relates many Conditions of *ſoft* and *porous* Bodies, that qualify them for proper *Plague-keepers*; ſome whereof altogether unqualify *Cotton* for being a powerful Nurſery of a Plague. But as ſuch Conſi-

dera-

* Levit. Chap. 13.

derations are not, at preſent, neceſſary ; we will obſerve, that we have not ſufficient Experience of a Plague being conveyed in Goods: Far leſs do we know, what kind of Goods moſt particularly favour the Hatching of a Plague.

FINIS.

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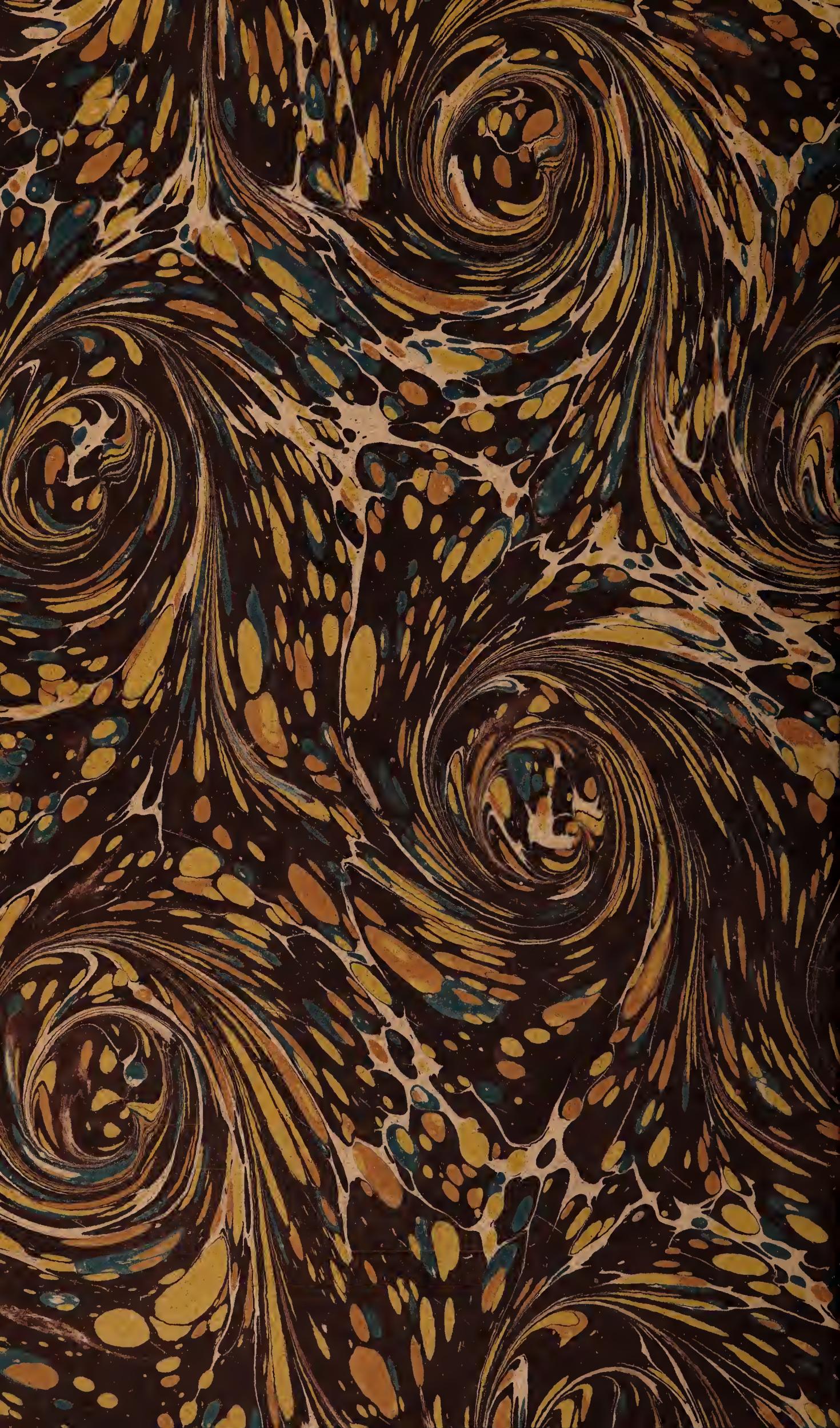
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